

PLINY
NATURAL HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
IN TEN VOLUMES

VOLUME IX
LIBRI XXXIII-XXXV

BY

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INTRODUCTION

Books XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV of Pliny's Natural History contain interesting accounts of minerals and mining and of the history of art

Mr H Rackham left when he died a translation in typescript with a few footnotes. The Latin text has been prepared by Prof E H Warmington, who has also added the critical notes on this text, many footnotes on the translation, and marginal helps. Some parts of the translation were completely re-written by him. The sections on Greek art were read and criticised by Prof T B L Webster, to whom thanks are now duly rendered.

The *codices* cited in the critical notes on the Latin text are as follows. *B* = Bambergensis, *cd* *Leid Voss* = *V*, *cd* *Leid Lips* = *F*, *cd* *Chiff(etranus)* = *f*, *cd* *Flor Ricc* = *R*, *cd* *Par Lat* 6797 = *d*, *cd* *Par* 6801 = *h*, *cd* *Vind CCXXXIV* = *a*, *cd* *Tolet* = *T*.

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PLINY :
NATURAL HISTORY
BOOK XXXIII

PLINII NATURALIS HISTORIAE

LIBER XXXIII

I Metalla nunc ipsaeque opes et rerum pretia di-
centur, tellurem intus exquirente cura multiplici
modo, quippe alibi divitis fodini¹ quaerente vita
aurum, argentum, electrum, aes, alibi delicus gemmas
et parietum lignorumque² pigmenta, alibi temeritati
feirum, auro etiam gratius inter bella caedesque
peisequimur omnes eius fibras vivinusque super
excavatam, mirantes dehiscere aliquando aut intie-
mescere illam, ceu vero non hoc indignatione sacrae
2 parentis exprimi possit imus in viscera et in sede
manium opes quaerimus, tamquam parum benigna
fertilique qua calcatur,³ et inter haec minimum
remediorum gratia scrutamui, quoto enim cuique
fodiendi causa medicina est[?] quamquam et hoc
summa sui parte tribuit ut fruges, larga facilisque in

¹ ante quippe transferendum aut fodini vel e fodini legendum corri Mayhoff

² lignorumque (vel signorumque) Mayhoff pictorum Detlefsen digitorumque cdd (recte?) delicus parietum digitorumque gemmas et pigmenta Bergk

³ Vll caecatur, cecatur, secatur

^a *Electrum*, properly amber, was a word applied to an alloy of gold and silver, and also to native argentiferous gold, because of their resemblance in colour

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BOOK XXXIII

I Our topic now will be metals, and the actual *metals* resources employed to pay for commodities—resources diligently sought for in the bowels of the earth in a variety of ways For in some places the earth is dug into for riches, when life demands gold, silver, silver-gold ^a and copper, and in other places for luxury, when gems and colours for tinting walls and beams are demanded, and in other places for rash valour, when the demand is for iron, which amid warfare and slaughter is even more prized than gold We trace out all the fibres of the earth, and live above the hollows we have made in her, marvelling that occasionally she gapes open or begins to tremble—as if forsooth it were not possible that this may be an expression of the indignation of our holy parent! We penetrate her inner parts and seek for riches in the abode of the spirits of the departed, as though the part where we tread upon her were not sufficiently bounteous and fertile And amid all this the smallest object of our searching is for the sake of remedies for illness, for with what fraction of mankind is medicine the object of this delving? Although medicines also earth bestows upon us on her surface, as she bestows corn, bountiful and

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3 omnibus, quaecumque prosunt illa nos peremunt, illa nos ad inferos agunt, quae occultavit atque demersit, illa, quae non nascuntur repente, ut¹ mens ad inane evolans reputet, quae deinde futuia sit finis omnibus saeculis exhauriendi eam, quo usque penetriatura avaritia quam innocens, quam beata, immo vero etiam delicata esset vita, si nihil aliunde quam supia terias concupisceret, breviterque, nisi² quod secum est!

4 II Erunt aurum et chrysocolla iuxta, ut pretiosior videatur, nomen ex auro custodiens paucum enim erat unam vitae invenisse pestem, nisi in pietio esset auri etiam sanies quaerebat aargentum avaritia, boni consuluit interim invenisse minium rubentisque teriae excogitavit usum heu prodiga ingenia, quot modis auximus pretia reium³ accessit aīs picturæ, et aurum aargentumque caelando carius fecimus dīcīt homo naturam provocare auxere et artem vitiorum imitamenta, in poculis libidines 5 caelare iuvit ac per obscenitates bibere abiecta deinde sunt haec ac³ sordere coepere, ut⁴ aurum argentique nimium fuit murrina ex eadem tellure et crystallina effodimus, quibus pretium faciet ipsa fragilitas hoc aīgumentum opum, haec vera luxu-

¹ repente ut *Mayhoff* ut repente aut repente

² *Vl* haberetque non nisi

³ ac *Mayhoff* abs *B* et *rell*

⁴ ut *Mayhoff* et

^a Χρυσοκόλλα, ‘gold solder’ This is malachite, basic copper carbonate

^b See §§ 111 ff

^c Or possibly finest agate

generous as she is in all things for our benefit! The things that she has concealed and hidden underground, those that do not quickly come to birth, are the things that destroy us and drive us to the depths below, so that suddenly the mind soars aloft into the void and ponders what finally will be the end of draining her dry in all the ages, what will be the point to which avarice will penetrate How innocent, how blissful, nay even how luxurious life might be, if it coveted nothing from any source but the surface of the earth, and, to speak briefly, nothing but what lies ready to her hand!

II Gold is dug out of the earth and in proximity to *Gold* it gold-solder, which still retains in Greek a name ^a derived from gold, so as to make it appear more precious It was not enough to have discovered one bane to plague life, without setting value even on the corrupt humours of gold! Avarice was seeking for silver, but counted it a gain to have discovered cinnabar ^b by the way, and devised a use to make of red earth Alas for the prodigality of our inventiveness! In how many ways have we raised the prices of objects! The art of painting has come in addition, and we have made gold and silver dearer by means of engraving! Man has learnt to challenge nature in competition! The enticements of the vices have augmented even art it has pleased us to engrave scenes of licence upon our goblets, and to drink through the midst of obscenities. Afterwards these were flung aside and began to be held of no account, when there was an excess of gold and silver Out of the same earth we dug supplies of fluor-spar ^c and crystal, things which their mere fragility rendered costly It came to be deemed the proof

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riae gloria existimata est, habere quod posset statim perire totum nec hoc fuit satis turba gemmarum potamus et zmaia agdis teuimus calices, ac temulentiae causa tenere Indiam iuvat aurum iam accessio est
 6 III utinamque posset e vita in totum abdicari [sacrum fame, ut celeberrimi auctores dixerent]¹ proscissum convicis ab optimis quibusque et ad penitentiam vitae repertum, quanto feliciore aevi, cum res ipsae permutabantur inter se, sicut et Tioianis temporibus factitatum Homero credi convenit² ita enim, ut opinor, commercia victus gratia inventa³
 7 alios corus boum, alios feiro captivisque res⁴ emptitasse tradit quae,⁴ quamquam ipse iam mirator auri,⁵ pecore⁶ aestimationes rerum ita fecit, ut c boum arma aurea permutasse Glaucum diceret cum Diomedis armis viii boum ex qua consuetudine multa legum antiquarum pecore constat etiam Romae
 8 IV Pessimum vitae scelus fecit qui primus induit digitis, nec hoc quis fecerit traditur nam de Prometheus omnia fabulosa arbitratur, quamquam illi quoque ferreum anulum dedit antiquitas vinculumque id, non gestamen, intellegi voluit Midae quidem anulum, quo circumacto habentem nemo cerneret,

¹ Seclusit J Muller

² inventa cd Par 6801 invecta rell

³ res Detlefsen merum coni Ian vinum Bergk rebus codd (reris B¹ rerū B²)

⁴ quare Mayhoff quā B² quā B¹ om rell

⁵ Vl miratus auri

⁶ pecore Mayhoff pec B¹ pec B² et aut om rell

^a The MSS here insert a clause ('accursed by hunger, as very famous writers have said') adapted from Virgil's famous phrase in *Aen* III 57 'iuri quæra fumes'

of wealth, the true glory of luxury, to possess something that might be absolutely destroyed in a moment
 Nor was this enough we drink out of a crowd of precious stones, and set our cups with emeralds, we take delight in holding India for the purpose of tipping, and gold is now a mere accessory III
 And would that it ^a could be entirely banished from life, reviled and abused as it is by all the worthiest people, and only discovered for the ruin of human life—how far happier was the period when goods themselves were interchanged by barter, as it is agreed we must take it from Homer ^b to have been the custom even in the days of Troy That in my view was the way in which trade was discovered, to procure the necessities of life Homer relates how some people used to make their purchases with ox-hides, others with iron and captives, and consequently, although even Homer himself ^c was already an admirer of gold, he reckoned the value of goods in cattle, saying that Glaucus exchanged gold armour worth 100 beeves with that of Diomede worth 9 beeves And as a result of this custom even at Rome a fine under the old laws is priced in cattle

IV The worst crime against man's life was *Gold rings* committed by the person who first put gold on his fingers, though it is not recorded who did this, for I deem the whole story of Prometheus mythical, although antiquity assigned to him also an iron ring, and intended this to be understood as a fetter, not an ornament As for the story of Midas's ring, which when turned round made its wearer invisible,

^b Homer, *Il* VII 472 ff

^c *Il* VI 234-6

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9 quis non etiam fabulosiorem fateatur^a manus et
 proorsus sinistram maximam auctoritatem conciliavere
 auro, non quidem Romanae^b, quarum^c 1 in moe ferrei
 erant ut^d virtutis bellicae insigne

De regibus Romanis non facile dixerim nullum
 habet Romuli in Capitolio statua nec praeteti Numae
 Serviuque Tullii alia ac ne Lucii quidem Brutii hoc
 in Tarquinius maxime miror, quorum e Graecia fuit
 origo, unde hic anulorum usus venit, quamquam
 10 etiam nunc Lacedaemone ferreo utuntur sed a
 Piusco Tarquinio omnium primo filium, cum in
 praetextae annis occidisset hostem, bulla aurea
 donatum constat, unde mos bullae duravit, ut
 eorum, qui equo meruissent, filii insigne id haberent,
 ceteri lorum, et ideo miror Tarquinii eius statuam
 sine anulo esse quamquam et de nomine ipso
 ambigi video Graeci a digitis appellavere, apud nos
 piisci ungulum vocabant, postea et Graeci et nostri
 11 symbolum longo certe tempore ne senatum quidem

¹ romani quorum *ad Par* 6801

² ut *Hardouin* et

^a *Sinistra* suggests ‘unlucky,’ ‘sinister’

^b One of the two first consuls (509 B C), not a king

^c The white toga with a purple border worn by free born boys at Rome until they were declared to be of age, between 14 and 16, and assumed the *toga pura* or *virilis*, the white woollen cloak of the Roman citizen

^d Δακτύλιος, from δακτυλος

who would not admit this to be more mythical still? It was the hand and what is more the left ^a hand, that first won for gold such high esteem, not indeed a Roman hand, whose custom it was to wear an iron ring as an emblem of warlike valour.

As to the Roman kings I find it hard to make a statement *Rings and brooches in the Roman monarchical period*. The statue of Romulus in the Capitol has nothing, nor has any other king's statue excepting those of Numa and Servius Tullius, and not even that of Lucius Brutus ^b. I am especially surprised at this in the case of the Tarquins, who came originally from Greece, the country from which this fashion in rings came, although an iron ring is worn in Sparta even at the present day. But of all, Tarquinius Priscus, it is well known, first presented his son with a golden amulet when while still of an age to wear the bordered robe ^c he had killed an enemy in battle, and from that time on the custom of the amulet has continued as a distinction to be worn by the sons of those who have served in the cavalry, the sons of all others only wearing a leather strap. Owing to this I am surprised that the statue of that Tarquin has no ring. All the same, I notice that there is a difference of opinion even about the actual word for a ring. The Greek name ^d for it is derived from the word meaning a finger, with ourselves, in early days it was called 'ungulus,' ^e but afterwards both our people and the Greeks give it the name of 'symbolum' ^f. For a long period indeed, it is quite

^a The word survives in fragments of early poetry.

^b Greek σύμβολον, originally meaning two parts of a coin or other object broken in half to serve as a means of identification because tallying when put together, and so the word was used to denote any token or symbol.

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Romanum habuisse aureos manifestum est, siquidem
 ius tantum, qui legati ad extereras gentes ituri essent,
 anuli publice dabantur, c^{ed}o, quoniam ita exterorum[¶]
 honoratissimi intellegebantur neque alius uti mos fuit
 quam qui ex ea causa publice accepissent, volgoque sic
 triumphabant et, cum corona ex auro Etrusca sus-
 tineretur a tergo, anulus tamen in digito ferreus erat
 aeque triumphantis et servi p^{rae}¹ se coronam sus-
 12 tinentis sic triumphavit de Iugurtha C Marius
 aui eumque non ante tertium consulatum sumpsisse
 traditur u quoque, qui ob legationem acceperant
 aureos, in publico tantum utebantur ius, intra domos
 vero ferreis, quo argumento etiam nunc sponsae
 muneris vice ferreus anulus mittitur, isque sine
 gemma euidem nec Ilacis temporibus ullos fuisse
 anulos video nusquam certe Homerus dicit, cum
 et codicillos missitatos epistularum gratia indicet et
 conditas arcis vestes ac vasa aurea argenteaque et
 eas colligatas² nodi, non anuli, nota soitn quoque
 contia provocationes duces non anulis tradit, fabricae
 etiam deum fibulas et alia muliebii cultus, sicut

¹ p^{rae} se *Mayhoff* (*qui et forte coni*) fortasse *cdd* *del*
edd *vett*

² consignatas *coni* *Mayhoff*

^a *I e* by the future bridegroom, it was called *anulus pronubus*

^b *Il* VI 168-9

^c *Od* VIII 424, 438-41, 443, 447

^d *Il* VII 171, 175, *κλῆροι* 'lots,' were moulded out of clay,
 but it is not said that they were marked with the chiefs' signet
 rings

^e Hephaestus See *Il* XVIII 400 ff

BOOK XXXIII IV 11-12

clear, not even members of the Roman senate had *and in the Republican period* gold rings, inasmuch as rings were bestowed officially on men about to go as envoys to foreign nations, and on them only, the reason no doubt being that the most highly honoured foreigners were recognized in this way. Nor was it the custom for any others to wear a gold ring than those on whom one had been officially bestowed for the reason stated, and customarily Roman generals went in triumph without one, and although a Tuscan crown of gold was held over the victor's head from behind, nevertheless he wore an iron ring on his finger when going in triumph, just the same as the slave holding the crown in front of himself. This was the way in which Gaius Marius celebrated his triumph over Jugurtha, and it is recorded that he did not assume a gold ring till his third tenure of the consulship. Those moreover who had been given gold rings because they were going on an embassy only wore them in public, but in their homes wore iron rings, this is the reason why even now an iron ring and what is more a ring without any stone in it is sent^a as a gift to a woman when betrothed. Indeed I do not find that any rings were worn in the Trojan period, at all events Homer nowhere mentions them, although he shows that tablets^b used to be sent to and fro in place of letters, and that clothes and gold and silver vessels were stored away in chests^c and were tied up with signet-knots, not sealed with signet-rings. Also he records the chiefs as casting lots about meeting a challenge from the enemy without using signet-rings^d, and he also says that the god^e of handcraft in the original period frequently made brooches and other articles of

Jan 1,
104 B C
103 B C

Rings in Homer

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inaures, in primordio factitasse, sine mentione
13 anulorum et quisquis primus instituit, cunctanter
id fecit laevis manibus latentibusque induit, cum,
si honos securus fuisse, dextra fuerit ostentandus
quodsi impedimentum potuit in eo aliquod intellegi,
etiam serioris usus argumentum est ¹ maius in laeva
fuisse, qua scutum capitur est quidem apud
eundem Homerum virorum crinibus aurum inplexum,
ideo nescio an prior usus feminis coepit

14 V Romae ne fuit quidem aurum nisi admodum
exiguum longo tempore certe cum a Gallis capta
urbe pax emeretur, non plus quam mille pondo effici
potuere nec ignoror MM pondo auri perisse Pompeii
III consultu e Capitolini Iovis solo a Camillo ibi
condita, et ideo a plenisque existimari MM pondo
collata sed quod accessit, ex Gallorum praeda fuit
detractumque ab iis in parte captiae urbis delubris—
15 Gallos cum auro pugnare solitos Torquatus indicio
est—, appetet ergo Gallorum templorumque tantum
tundem nec amplius fuisse quod quidem in

¹ est *cdd* (*est et B*) esset *Mayhoff*

^a *Il* XVII 52

^b Victor over the Gauls in 390 BC

^c T Manlius obtained this surname from the gold necklace,
torques, which he took from a Gaul whom he slew in single
combat in 360 BC

feminine finery like earrings—without mentioning fingerings. And whoever first introduced them did so with hesitation, and put them on the left hand, which is generally hidden by the clothes, whereas it would have been shown off on the right hand if it had been an assured distinction. And if this might possibly have been thought to involve some interference with the use of the right hand, there is the proof of more modern custom, it would have also been more inconvenient to wear it on the left hand, which holds the shield. Indeed it is also stated, by Homer^a again, that men wore gold plaited in their hair and consequently I cannot say whether the use of gold originated from women.

V At Rome for a long time gold was actually *Roman wealth in gold* not to be found at all except in very small amounts. At all events when peace had to be purchased after the capture of the City by the Gauls, not more than 390 B.C. a thousand pounds' weight of gold could be produced. I am aware of the fact that in Pompey's third consulship there was lost from the throne of Jupiter of the Capitol two thousand pounds' weight of gold that had been stored there by Camillus,^b which led to a general belief that 2000 pounds was the amount that had been accumulated. But really the additional sum was part of the booty taken from the Gauls, and it had been stripped by them from the temples in the part of the city which they had captured—the case of Torquatus^c shows that the Gauls were in the habit of wearing gold ornaments in battle, therefore it appears that the gold belonging to the Gauls and that belonging to the temples did not amount to more than that total, and this in fact was taken to be the meaning contained in the

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augurio intellectum est, cum Capitolinus duplum reddidisset

Illud quoque obiter indicari convenit—etiam¹ de anulis sermonem repetivimus—, aedituum custodiae eius comprehensum fracta in ore anuli gemma statim

16 expirasse et indicium ita extinctum ergo vel² maxime MM tantum pondo, cum capta est Roma, anno ccclxiiii fuere, cum iam capitum liberiorum censa essent CLII DLXXXIII in eadem post annos cccvii, quod ex Capitolinae aedis incendio ceterisque omnibus delubris C Marius filius Praeneste detulerat,³ ~~VIII~~⁴ pondo, quae sub eo titulo in triumpho transtulit Sulla et aagenti VI⁵ idem ex reliqua omni victoria pridie transtulerat auri pondo ~~V~~, aagenti p ~~CXV~~

17 VI Frequentior autem usus anulorum non ante Cn Flavium Anni filium deprehenditur hic namque publicatis diebus fastis, quos populus a paucis principum cotidie petebat, tantam gratiam plebei adeptus est—libertino patie alioqui genitus et ipse scriba Appi Caeci, cuius hortatu exceperat eos dies consultando adsidue sagaci ingenio promulgataque

¹ etiam B quoniam *rell* et iam *Ian* etenim *coni* Mayhoff

² vel L C Purser ut

³ detulerat, erant *coni* Mayhoff

⁴ ~~XIII~~ *Ian* ~~XIII~~ B ~~XIII~~ *rell* (tredecim milia cd Par 6801)

⁵ ~~VI~~ *Ian* VI

^a The reference has not been explained

^b It contained a poison, cf § 26

^c By the Gauls in 390 B C

^d Appius Claudius, censor in 312 B C and builder of the Appian Way

augury,^a when Jupiter the God of the Capitol had repaid twofold

Also, as we began on this topic from the subject of rings, it is suitable incidentally to point out that the official in charge of the temple of Jupiter of the Capitol when he was arrested broke the stone ^b of his ring between his teeth and at once expired, so putting an end to any possibility of proving the theft. It follows that there was only 2,000 lbs weight of gold at the outside when Rome was captured in its 364th year,^c although the census showed there were already 152,573 free citizens. From the same city 307 years later the gold that Gaius Marius ^{82 B.C.} the younger had conveyed to Palestrina from the conflagration of the temple of the Capitol and from all the other shrines amounted to 14,000 lbs, which with a placard above it to that effect was carried along in his triumphal procession by Sulla, as well as ^{81 B.C.} 6,000 lbs weight of silver. Sulla had likewise on the previous day carried in procession 15,000 lbs of gold and 115,000 lbs of silver as the proceeds of all the rest of his victories.

VI It does not appear that rings were in more common use before the time of Gnaeus Flavius son of Annius. It was he who first published the dates ^{More about rings in the Republican period} 305-4 B.C. for legal proceedings, which it had been customary for the general public to ascertain by daily enquiry from a few of the leading citizens, and this won him such great popularity with the common people—he was also the son of a liberated slave and himself a cleik to Appius Caecus,^d at whose request he had by dint of natural shrewdness through continual observation picked out those days and published them—that he was appointed a curule

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--, ut aedilis curulis crea*et*etur cum Q Anicio Piae-nestino, qui paucis ante annis hostis fuisse*t*, piae-tentis C Poetilio et Domitio, quorum patres consules
 18 fuerant additum Flavio, ut simul et tribunus plebei esset, quo facto tanta indignatio exarsit, ut anulos abiectos in antiquissimis reperiatur annalibus fallit plerosque quod tum et equestrem ordinem id fecisse arbitrantur, etenim adiectum hoc quoque sed et phaleras positas propterque hoc nomen equitum adiectum est, anulosque depositos a nobilitate in annales relatum est, non a senatu universo hoc actum P
 19 Sempionio L Sulpicio cos Flavius vovit aedem Concordiae, si populo reconciliasset ordines, et, cum ad id pecunia publice non decerne*et*etur, ex multatia faeneratoribus condemnatis aediculam aeream fecit in Graecostasi, quae tunc supra comitium erat, inciditque in tabella aerea factam eam aedem
 20 ccⁱⁱⁱⁱ annis post Capitolinam dedicatam id a² cccccxxxxviii a condita urbe gestum est et primum anulorum vestigium extat, promiscui autem usus alterum secundo Punico bello, neque enim aliter

¹ propterque hoc *Rackham ali⁹ alia* propterque
² id a (anno) C F W Müller ita

^a Probably in the war with the twelve tribes of Etruria, who were conquered by Fabius at Lake Vadimo, 310 B C

^b A platform Greek and, later, any foreign envoys could watch proceedings It was later placed in the Forum

ædile as a colleague of Quintus Anicius of Palestrina, who a few years previously had been an enemy at war with Rome,^a while Gaius Poetilius and Domitius, whose fathers had been consuls, were passed over Flavius had the additional advantage of being tribune of the plebs at the same time This caused such an outburst of blazing indignation that we find in the oldest annals 'rings were laid aside' The common belief that the Order of Knighthood also did the same on this occasion is erroneous, inasmuch as the following words were also added 'but also harness-bosses were put aside as well', and it is because of this clause that the name of the Knights has been added, and the entry in the annals is that the rings were laid aside by the nobility, not by the entire Senate This occurrence took place in the consulship of Publius Sempionius ^{305 BC} and Lucius Sulpicius Flavius made a vow to erect a temple to Concord if he succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the privileged orders and the people, and as money was not allotted for this purpose from public funds, he drew on the fine-money collected from persons convicted of practising usury to erect a small shrine made of bronze on the Graecostasis,^b which at that date stood above the Assembly-place, and put on it an inscription engraved on a bronze tablet that the shrine had been constructed 204 years after the consecration of the Capitoline temple This event took place in the 449th year from the foundation of the city, and ^{305 BC} is the earliest evidence to be found of the use of rings There is however a second piece of evidence for their being commonly worn at the time of the Second Punic War, as had this not been the case it

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- potuisset tumodia anulorum illa Caithaginem ab Hamibale mitti inter Caerionem quoque et Diu-
sum ex anulo in auctione venali intimicita coepere,
21 unde origo socialis belli et exitia rerum ne tunc
quidem omnes senatores habuerent utpote cum memo-
ria avorum multi praetura quoque functi in ferreo
consenuerint—sicut Calpurnium et Manilium, qui
legatus C Mari fuerit Iugurthino bello, Fenestella
tradit, et multi L Fufidium illum, ad quem Scaurus
de vita sua scripsit—, in Quintiorum vero familia
autem ne feminas quidem habere mos fuerit, nullos-
que omnino maior pars gentium hominumque, etiam
qui sub imperio nostro degunt, hodieque habeant
non signat oriens aut Aegyptus etiam nunc litteris
contenta solis
- 22 Multis hoc modis, ut cetera omnia, luxuria variavit
gemmae addendo exquisiti fulgoris censuque opimo
digitos onerando, sicut dicemus in gemmarum volu-
mine, mox et effigies varias caelando, ut albi aīs,
alibi materia esset in pretio alias dein gemmas
violaii nefas putavit ac, ne quis signandi causam in
23 anulis esse intellegeret, solidas induit quasdam

^a This was after the battle of Cannae in 216 B.C. Livy says 3½ pecks, Florus says 2

^b The so called Social War, 91–88 B.C.

^c This statement is untrue

BOOK XXXIII vi 20-23

would not have been possible for the three ^a pecks of rings as recorded to have been sent by Hannibal to Carthage. Also it was from a ring put up for sale by auction that the quarrel between Caepio and Drusus began which was the primary cause of the war with the allies ^b and the disasters that sprang from it. Not even at that period did all members of the senate possess gold rings, seeing that in the memory of our grandfathers many men who had even held the office of prætor wore an iron ring to the end of their lives—for instance, as recorded by Fenestella, Calpurnius and Manilius, the latter having been lieutenant-general under Gaius Marius in the war ^{112-106 B} with Jugurtha, and, according to many authorities, the Lucius Fufidius to whom Scaurus dedicated his Autobiography—while another piece of evidence is that in the family of the Quintii it was not even customary for the women to have a gold ring, and that the greater part of the races of mankind, and even of the people who live under our empire and at the present day, possess no gold rings at all. The East and Egypt do not ^c seal documents even now, but are content with a written signature.

This fashion like everything else luxury has diversified in numerous ways, by adding to rings gems of ^{Methods of wearing rings} exquisite brilliance, and by loading the fingers with a wealthy revenue (as we shall mention in our book ^{xxxvii} ^{2 sqq} on gems) and then by engraving on them a variety of devices, so that in one case the craftsmanship and in another the material constitutes the value. Then again with other gems luxury has deemed it sacrilege for them to undergo violation, and has caused them to be worn whole, to prevent anybody's imagining that people's finger-rings were intended for

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

vero neque ab ea parte, quia digito occultantur auro clusit aurumque millis² lipillorum viuis fec contra vero multi nullas admittunt gemmas auroque ipso signant id Claudi Caesaris principatu repetum nec non et servitia iam ferrum auro cingunt alia per sese meo auro decorant—, cuius licenti origo nomine ipso in Samothrace id institutu declarat

- 24 Singulis primo digitis geni mos fuerat, qui suminis proximi sic in Numae et Servi Tulli statu videmus postea pollici proximo induere, etiam u deorum simulacris, dein iuvit et minimo duci Galliae Brittanniaeque medio dicuntur usae h nunc solus excipitur, ceteri omnes onerantur, atque
 25 etiam privatim articuli minoribus aliis sunt que tantum minimo congerant, ali vero et tantum unum, quo signantem signent condit ille, ut res rara et iniuria usus indigna, velut sacra promitur, ut et unum in minimo duci habuisse pretiosioris in recondito supellectilis ostentatio sit iam ali pondera eorum ostentant ali plures quam unum gestare labor est, ali bratte

¹ *Vl* quae digito occultatur

² millis *Ian* micis *Gronov* vilibus *conr* *Urlichs* mill
^{B¹} milibus

³ in add *Mayhoff*

^a Or possibly ‘that finger rings contained a motive for sealing documents,’ &c., that people were ready to seal documents in order to show off the engraved stones

^b Slaves wore iron rings, a symbol of captivity

^c I.e. they were called Samothracian rings

sealing documents^{1 a} Some gems indeed luxury has left showing in the gold even on the side of the ring that is hidden by the finger, and has cheapened the gold with collars of little pebbles But on the contrary many people do not allow any gems in a signet-ring, and seal with the gold itself, this was a fashion invented when Claudius Cæsar was emperor Moreover even slaves nowadays encircle the noon of their rings^b with gold (other articles all over them they decorate with pure gold), an extravagance the origin of which is shown by its actual name^c to have been instituted in Samothrace

It had originally been the custom to wear rings on one finger only, the one next the little finger, that is how we see them on the statues of Numa and Servius Tullius Afterwards people put them on the finger next the thumb, even in the case of statues of the gods, and next it pleased them to give the little finger also a ring The Gallic Provinces and the British Islands are said to have used the middle finger At the present day this is the only finger exempted, while all the others bear the burden, and even each finger-joint has another smaller ring of its own Some people put all their rings on their little finger only, while others wear only one ring even on that finger, and use it to seal up their signet ring, which is kept stored away as a rarity not deserving the insult of common use, and is brought out from its cabinet as from a sanctuary, thus even wearing a single ring on the little finger may advertise the possession of a costlier piece of apparatus put away in store Some again show off the weight of their rings, others count it hard work to wear more than one, and others consider that filling the gold tinsel

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inferne leviore materia propter casum tutius gemmatum sollicitudini putant, ali sub gemmis venena cludunt, sicut Demosthenes summus Graeciae orator,
26 anulosque mortis gratia habent denique vel¹ plurima opum scelera anulis fidunt quae fuit illa vita prisorum, qualis innocentia, in qua nihil signabatur¹ nunc cibi quoque ac potus anulo vindicantur a rapina hoc profecere mancipiorum legiones, in domo turba externa ac iam servorum quoque causa nomenclator adhibendus aliter apud antiquos singuli Marcipores Luciporesve dominorum gentiles omnem victimum in promiscuo habebant, nec ulla domi a domesticis
27 custodia opus erat nunc rapienda comparantui epulae pauperque qui rapiant eas, et claves quoque ipsas signasse non est satis gravatis somno aut morientibus anuli detrahuntur, maiisque vitae ratio circa hoc instrumentum esse coepit, incertum a quo tempore videmur tamen posse in extensis auctoritatibus eius rei intellegere circa Polycraten Sami tyrannum, cui dilectus ille anulus in maie abiectus capto relatus est pisce, ipso circiter ccxxx urbis

¹ vel Bergk ut

^a Plutarch, *vit Demosth* 29 reports a statement that Demosthenes always carried a poison in a bracelet on his arm, and that he killed himself with it to avoid falling into the hands of Antipater of Macedon, 322 B C

^b I.e documents are forged and sealed with faked signet rings

^c He was put to death c 515 B C by the Persian Oroetes

of the circle with a lighter material, in case of their dropping, is a safer precaution for their anxiety about their gems, others enclose poisons underneath the stones in their rings, as did Demosthenes,^a the greatest orator of Greece, and they wear their rings as a means of taking their own lives. Finally, a very great number of the crimes connected with money are carried out by means of rings^b. To think what life was in the days of old, and what innocence existed when nothing was sealed! Whereas nowadays even articles of food and drink have to be protected against theft by means of a ring, this is the progress achieved by our legions of slaves—a foreign rabble in one's home, so that an attendant to tell people's names now has to be employed even in the case of one's slaves! This was not the way with by-gone generations, when a single servant for each master, a member of his master's clan, Marcus's boy or Lucius's boy, took all his meals with the family in common, nor was there any need of precautions in the home to keep watch on the domestics. Nowadays we acquire sumptuous viands only to be pilfered and at the same time acquire people to pilfer them, and it is not enough to keep our keys themselves under seal while we are fast asleep or on our death-beds, our rings are slipped off our fingers, and the prevailing system of our lives has begun to centre round that portable chattel, though when this began is doubtful. Still it seems we can realize the importance this article possesses abroad in the case of the tyrant of Samos, Polycrates, who flung his favourite ring into the sea and had it brought back to him inside a fish which had been caught. Polycrates himself was put to death^c.

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- 28 nostrae annum interfecto celebratior quidem usus
cum faenore coepisse debet argumento est con-
suetudo volgi, ad sponsiones etiamnum¹ anulo
exiliente, tracta ab eo tempore, quo nondum erat
aīra velocior, ut plane adfirmare possimus nummos
ante apud nos, mox anulos coepisse de nummis
paulo post dicetur
- 29 VII Anuli distinxere alterum ordinem a plebe,
ut semel cooperant esse celebres, sicut tunica ab
anulis senatum quamquam et hoc sero, vulgoque
purpura latiore tunicae usos invenimus etiam prae-
cones, sicut patrem L Aeli Stilonis Praeconini ob
id cognominati sed anuli plane tertium ordinem
mediumque plebei et patribus inseruere, ac quod
antea militares equi nomen dederant, hoc nunc
pecuniae indices tribuunt nec pridem id factum
30 divo Augusto decurias ordinante maior pars iudicium
in ferreo anulo fuit iisque non equites, sed iudices
vocabantur equitum nomen subsistebat in turmis
equorum publicorum iudicium quoque non nisi
quattuor decuriae fuere primo, virque singula milia
in decurus inventa sunt, nondum provincius ad hoc

¹ etiam nunc *coni Mayhoff*

^a ‘Son of the herald’

^b *Eques*

about the 230th year of the city of Rome Still the employment of a signet-ring must have begun to be much more frequent with the introduction of usury This is proved by the custom of the lower classes, among whom even at the present day a ring is whipped out when a contract is being made, the habit comes down from the time when there was as yet no speedier method of guaranteeing a bargain, so we can safely assert that with us money began first and signet-rings came in afterwards About money we shall speak rather later

VII As soon as rings began to be commonly worn, they distinguished the second order from the commons, just as a tunic distinguished the senate from those who wore the ring, although this distinction also was only introduced at a late date, and we find that a wider purple stripe on the tunic was commonly worn even by heralds, for instance the father of Lucius Aelius Stilo Praeconinus, who received his surname ^a from his father's office But wearing rings clearly introduced a third order, intermediate between the commons and the senate, and the title ^b that had previously been conferred by the possession of a war-horse is now assigned by money rates This however is only a recent introduction when his late lamented Majesty Augustus made regulations for the judicial panels the majority of the judges belonged to the iron ring class, and these used to be designated not Knights but Justices, the title of Knights remained with the cavalry squadrons mounted at the public charge Of the Justices also there were at the first only four panels, and in each panel scarcely a thousand names were to be found, as the provinces had not yet been

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munus admissis, servatumque in hodiernum est, ne
 31 quis e novis civibus in iis iudicaret decuriae quoque
 ipsae pluribus discretae nominibus fuere, tribunorum
 aeris et selectorum et iudicum praeter hos etiam-
 num nongenti vocabantur ex omnibus electi ad
 custodiendas suffragiorum cistas in comitius et
 divisus hic quoque ordo erat superba usurpatione
 nominum, cum alius se nongentum, alius selectum,
 alius tribunum appellaret

32 VIII Tiberii demum principatu¹ nono anno in
 unitatem venit equester ordo, anulorumque aucto-
 ritati forma constituta est C Asinio Polione C
 Antistio Vetere cos anno urbis conditae DCCLXXV,
 quod miremur, futili paene de causa, cum C Sulpici-
 cius Galba, iuvenalem famam apud principem popina-
 rum poenis aucupatus, questus esset in senatu, volgo
 institores eius culpae defendi analis hac de causa
 constitutum, ne cui ius esset nisi qui ingenuus ipse,
*⟨ingenuo⟩*² patre, avo paterno his ~~cccc~~ census fuisset
 et lege Iulia theatraли in quattuordecim ordinibus
 33 sedisset postea gregatum insigne id adpeti coeptum

¹ principatu *B* principatus *rell*

² ingenuus ipse *ingenuo Detlefsen* qui ingenuus ipse aut cui
 ingenuo ipsi

^a Originally it seems officials (*tribuni aerarii*) who collected the property tax from Roman citizens (until 167 B.C.), and paid the soldiers out of a special fund. But in the first century B.C. they appear as an *ordo* in the state next below the *equites*.

^b Tiberius

^c *I.e.* the gold ring of the Order of Knighthood whose members often practised banking, tax farming and other businesses

^d The financial standing of *in equis*

admitted to this duty, and the regulation has survived to the present day that nobody newly admitted to citizenship shall serve as a justice on one of the panels. The panels themselves also were distinguished by various designations, as consisting of Tribunes of the Money,^a Selected Members and Justices. Moreover beside these there were those styled the Nine Hundred, selected from the whole body as keepers of the ballot-boxes at elections. And the proud adoption of titles had made divisions in this order also, one person styling himself a member of the Nine Hundred, another one of the Select, another a Tribune.

VIII Finally in the ninth year in office of the Emperor Tiberius the Order of Knights was united into a single body, and in the Consulship of Gaius Asinius Pollio and Gaius Antistius Vetus, in the 775th year since the foundation of Rome, a regulation was established authorizing who should wear rings, the motive for this, a thing that may surprise us, was virtually the futile reason that Gaius Sulpicius Galba had made a youthful effort to curry favour with the emperor^b by enacting penalties for keeping eating-houses and had made a complaint in the senate that peddling tradesmen when charged with that offence commonly protected themselves by means of their rings^c. Consequently a rule was made that nobody should have this right except one who was himself a free-born man whose father and father's father had been free-born also, and who had been rated as the owner of 400,000 sesterces^d and had been entitled under the Julian law as to the theatre to sit in the fourteen front rows of seats. Subsequently people began to apply in crowds for this

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propter haec discrimina C princeps decuriam quintam adiecit, tantumque enatum est fastus, ut, quae sub divo Augusto impleri non potuerant, decuriae non capiant eum ordinem, passimque ad ornamenta ea etiam servitute liberati transiliant, quod antea numquam erat factum, quoniam¹ ferreo anulo et equites iudicesque intellegebantur adeoque id promiscuum esse coepit, ut apud Claudium Caesarem in censura eius unus ex equitibus Flavius Proculus cccc ex ea causa reos postularet ita dum separatur ordo ab 34 ingenuis, communicatus est cum servitus iudicium autem appellatione separare eum ordinem primi omnium instituere Gracchi discordi popularitate in contumeliam senatus, mox debellata auctoritas nominis vario seditionum eventu circa publicanos substitit et aliquamdiu tertiae sortis viri publicani fuere M Cicero demum stabilivit equestre nomen in consulatu suo Catilinianis rebus, ex eo ordine profectum se celebrans eiusque vires peculiari popularitate quaerens ab illo tempore plane hoc tertium corpus in re p factum est, coepitque adici senatui

¹ quoniam Mayhoff qm in

^a In fact C Gracchus, tribune 123-2 B.C.

mark of rank, and in consequence of the disputes thus occasioned the Emperor Gaius Calgula added ^{AD 37-41} a fifth panel, and so much conceit has this occasioned that the panels which under his late lamented Majesty Augustus it had not been possible to fill will not hold that order, and there are frequent cases of men who are actually liberated slaves making a leap over to these distinctions, a thing that previously never occurred, since the iron ring was the distinguishing mark even of knights and judges. And the thing began to be so common that during the censorship of the Emperor Claudius a member ^{AD 48} of the Order of Knighthood named Flavius Proculus laid before him information against 400 persons on this ground, so that an order intended to distinguish the holder from other men of free birth has been shared with slaves. It was the Gracchi^a who first instituted the name of Justices or Judges as the distinguishing name of that order of knights—seditiously currying favour with the people in order to humiliate the senate, but subsequently the importance of the title of Knight was swamped by the shifting currents of faction, and came down to be attached to the farmers of public revenues, and for some time these revenue officers constituted the third rank in the state. Finally Marcus Cicero, thanks to the Catilinarian affair, during his consulship ^{63 BC} put the title of knighthood on a firm footing, boasting that he himself sprang from that order, and winning its powerful support by methods of securing popularity that were entirely his own. From that time onward the Knighthood definitely became a third element in the state, and the name of the Equestrian Order came to be added to the formula 'The

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populoque Romano et equester oido qua de causa
et nunc post populum scribitur, quia novissime
coeptus est adici

- 35 IX Equitum quidem etiam nomen ipsum saepe
vallatum est, in us quoque, qui id ab equitatu tra-
hebant celestes sub Romulo regibusque sunt appel-
lati, deinde flexentes, postea trossuli, cum oppidum
in Tuscia citra Volsinios p VIII sine ullo peditum
adiumento cepissent eius vocabuli, idque duavit
- 36 ultia C Gracchum Iunius certe, qui ab amicitia
eius Gracchanus appellatus est, scriptum reliquit his
verbis Quod ad equestrem ordinem attinet, antea
trossulos vocabant, nunc equites vocant ideo, quia
non intellegunt trossulos nomen quid valeat, mul-
tosque pudet eo nomine appellari et causam, quae
supra indicata est, exponit invitosque etiamnum¹
tamen trossulos vocari
- 37 X Sunt adhuc aliquae non omittendae in auro
differentiae auxilia quippe et externos torquibus
aureis donaveire, at cives non nisi argenteis, praeter-
que armillas civibus dederie, quas non dabant externis
- 38 XI Idem, quo magis mitemur, coronas ex auro
dedere et civibus quis primus donatus sit ea, non

¹ etiamtum *coni Mayhoff*

^a But in fact the regular order of words was senate,
equites, Roman people

^b Trossum or Trossulum, there are still remains of a town
at Trosso, two miles from Monte Fiascone in Tuscany

Senate and People of Rome' This is the reason why it is even now written after ^a 'People,' because it was the latest addition introduced

IX Indeed the very name of the Knights has itself frequently been altered, even in the case of those who derived the title from the fact of their serving as cavalry Under Romulus and the Kings they were called the Celeres, then the Flexentes and afterwards the Trossuli, because of then having without any assistance from infantry captured a town of that name ^b in Tuscany nine miles this side of Volsinii, and the name survived till after the time of Gaius Gracchus At all events in the writings left by Junius, who owing to his friendship with Gaius Gracchus was called Gracchanus, these words occur 'So far as concerns the Equestrian Order they were previously called the Trossuli, but are now simply designated the Cavalry, because people do not know what the word Trossuli means and many of them are ashamed of being called by that name' He goes on to explain the reason above indicated, and says that they were even in his time still called Trossuli, though they did not wish to be

X There are some additional particulars in *Necklaces* regard to gold which must not be omitted For instance our authorities actually bestowed gold necklaces on foreign soldiers, but only awarded silver ones to Roman citizens, and what is more they gave bracelets to citizens, which it was not their custom to give to foreigners

XI But at the same time, as is even more surprising, they gave crowns of gold even to citizens Who was the first person to receive one I have not

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

inveni equidem, quis primus donaverit, a L Pisone traditui A Postumius dicto apud lacum Regillum castis Latinorum expugnatis eum, cuius maxime opera capta essent hanc coronam ex praeda is dedit ^{ii l,}¹ item L Lentulus consul Seviro Cornelio Merendae Samnitum oppido capto, sed hic quinque librarum, trium ² Piso Flugi filium ex privata pecunia donavit eamque coronam testamento ei praelegavit

- 39 XII Deorum honoris causa in sacris nihil aliud excogitatum est quam ut auratis cornibus hostiae, maiores dumtaxat, immolarentur sed in militia quoque in tantum adolevit haec luxuria, ut M Brutus e Philippicis campis epistulae repellantur frementis fibulas tribunicias ex auro geri ita, Hercules [?] idem enim tu, Brute, mulierum pedibus aurum gestatum ³ tacuisti et nos sceleris arguimus illum, qui primus auro dignitatem per anulos fecit ¹ habeant in laceitis iam quidem et vii, quod ex Dardanis venit—itaque et Dardanum vocabatur,
 40 viriolae Celtice dicuntur, viiae Celtiberice—, habent feminae in amillis digitisque totis, collo, auribus, spinis, discurrent catenae circa latera et in secreto

¹ dedit ii l (*i.e.* librarum) *Mayhoff* dedit *cdd* (dedit
¹ *B¹*)

² trium *add Hardouin coll Val Max IV 3 10*

³ gestatum *B*, *cd Colb* gestari *rell*

myself been able to ascertain, but Lucius Piso records who was the first person to bestow one, namely the dictator Aulus Postumius, who when the camp of the Latins at Lake Regillus had been taken by storm awarded a gold crown to the soldier who had been chiefly responsible for taking the place. In this case the crown which he bestowed was made of gold taken from the booty captured, and weighed two pounds. Also Lucius Lentulus as consul awarded a gold crown to Servius Cornelius Merenda after the taking of a town belonging to the Samnites, but Servius's crown weighed five pounds, while Piso Frugi bestowed on his son one weighing three pounds out of his personal resources, leaving it to him by will as a specific legacy.

XII As a mark of honour to the gods at sacrifices no other means has been devised but to gild the horns of the victims to be immolated, at all events of full-grown animals. But in military service also this form of luxury has grown to such dimensions that we find a letter of Marcus Brutus sent from the Plains of Philippi expressing his indignation at the brooches made of gold that were worn by the tribunes. Really I must protest! Why, even you, Brutus, did not mention the gold worn on their feet by women, and we accuse of crime the man who first conferred dignity on gold by using gold rings! Let even men nowadays wear gold bracelets—called 'Dardania' because the fashion came from the Dardani—the Celtic name for them is 'virolae' and the Celtiberian 'viriae', let women have gold in their bracelets and covering their fingers and on their neck, ears and tresses, let gold chains run at random round their waists, and let little bags of

*Further
remarks
about gold*

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

maigaiitium sacculū e collo dominātū aūo pendēat, ut in somno quoque unionum conscientia adsit etiamne pedibus induetur atque inter stolam plebemque hunc medium feminaū equestrem ordinem facet? honestius vīi paedagogis id damus,

41 balneasque dives pueriū forma convertit¹ iam vero et Hippocraten statuasque Aegyptiorum numinum in dīgitis viri quoque portare incipiunt fuit et alia Claudi principatu differentia insolens ius, quibus admissiones² liberae³ ius⁴ dedisset⁵ imaginem principis ex auro in anulo gerendi, magna criminum occasione, quae omnia salutaris exortus Vespasiani imperatoris abolevit aequaliter publicando principem de anulis aureis usuque eorum hactenus sit dictum

42 XIII Proximum scelus fuit eius, qui primus ex auro denarium signavit, quod et ipsum latet auctore incerto populus Romanus ne aigento quidem signato ante Pyrrhum regem devictum usus est libralis—unde etiam nunc libella dicitur et dupondius—adpendebatur assis, quare aeris gravis poena dicta, et adhuc expensa in rationibus dicuntur, item

¹ converrit *J. Muller*

² admissiones *Mommesen* admissionem *cdd pler* admissionem¹ *s B²*

³ liberae *B liberti rell*

⁴ ius *Lips eius*

⁵ dedisset *coni Ian*

^a *I e* gold ornaments on the sandal straps

^b Said to have been the Egyptian god of silence

^c *I e* committed against the welfare of mankind The worst crime was the introduction of gold rings, § 8

^d Equal in value to 25 silver denarii

^e The *as* was reduced in weight in the 1st Punic War or soon after

^f A piece worth two asses

pearls hang invisible suspended by gold chains from their lady owners' neck, so that even in their sleep they may retain the consciousness of possessing gems but are even then feet to be shod with gold,^a and shall gold create this female Order of Knighthood, intermediate between the matron's robe and the common people? Much more becomingly do we men bestow this on our page-boys, and the wealthy show these lads make has quite transformed the public baths! But nowadays even men are beginning to wear on their fingers a representation of Harpocrates^b and figures of Egyptian deities In the time of the Emperor Claudius there was also ^{AD 41-54} another unusual distinction, belonging to those whose rights of free access to the presence had given them the privilege of wearing a gold likeness of the emperor on a ring, this affording a great opportunity for informations, but all of this was however entirely abolished by the opportune rise to power of the Emperor Vespasian, by making the ^{AD 69-79} emperor equally accessible to all Let this suffice for a discussion of the subject of gold rings and their employment

XIII Next in degree was the crime committed ^{c Roman coinage in three metals} by the person who first coined a gold denarius,^d a crime which itself also is hidden and its author unknown The Roman nation did not even use a stamped silver coinage before the conquest of King ^{275 BC} Pyrrhus The *as* weighed one pound—hence the term still in use, 'little pound'^e and 'two pounder'^f, this is the reason why a fine is specified in 'heavy bronze,'^g and why in book-keeping outlay is still designated as 'sums weighed out,' and likewise

^a On *aes*, see XXXIV 1, note

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 43 inpendia et dependere, quin et militum stipendia,
hoc est stipis ponderia, dispensatores, libripendes, qua
consuetudine in us emptionibus, quae mancipi sunt,
etiam nunc libra interponitur Servius rex primus
signavit aes antea rudi usos Romae Timaeus tradit
signatum est nota pecudum, unde et pecunia appellata
maximus census ~~cxx~~ assium fuit illo rege, et
ideo haec prima classis
- 44 Argentum signatum anno ubiis ~~ccccclxxxv~~,¹ Q
Ogulnio C Fabio cos, quinque annis ante primum
Punicum bellum et placuit denarium pro x libris
aeris valere, quinarius pro v, sestertium pro dupon-
dio ac semisse librale autem pondus aeris inminutum
est bello Punico primo, cum impensis res p non
sufficeret, constitutumque ut asses sextantario pondere
ferrentur ita quinque partes lucii factae, dissolu-
45 tumque aes alienum nota aeris eius fuit ex altera
parte Ianus geminus, ex altera rostrum navis, in
triante vero et quadrante rates quadrans antea
teuncius vocatus a tribus uncus postea Hannibale

¹ ~~ccccclxxxv~~ *Cellarius cccclxxxxv B dlxxxv rell*

^a *I e an as*

BOOK XXXIII XIII 42-45

interest as ‘weighed on account’ and paying as ‘weighing down,’ and moreover it explains the terms ‘soldiers’ stipend,’ which means ‘weights of heaped money,’ and the words for accountants and paymasters that mean ‘weighers’ and ‘pound-weighers,’ and owing to this custom in purchases that deal with all larger personal property, even at the present day, an actual pair of ‘pound’-scales is introduced. King Servius was the first to stamp a design on bronze, previously, according to Timaeus,^{Traditional dates 578-534 B.C.} at Rome they used raw metal. The design stamped on the metal was an ox or a sheep, *pecus*, which is the origin of the term ‘*pecunia*’. The highest assessment of one man’s property in the reign of Servius was 120,000 *as-pieces*, and consequently that amount of property was the standard of the first class of citizens.

Silver was first coined in the 485th year of the city,^{269-8 B.C.} in the consulship of Quintus Ogulnius and Gaius Fabius, five years before the first Punic War. It was decided that the value of a denarius should be ten pounds of bronze, that of a half-denarius five pounds, that of a sesterce two pounds and a half. The weight of a standard pound^a of bronze was however reduced during the first Punic War, when the state could not meet its expenditure, and it was enacted that the *as* should be struck weighing two ounces. This effected a saving of five sixths, and the national debt was liquidated. The design of this bronze coin was on one side a Janus facing both ways and on the other the ram of a battleship, the third of an *as* and the quarter *as* had a ship. The latter had previously been called a *teruncius*, as weighing three ounces. Subsequently when the presence of Hannibal was being felt, in the dictator-^{217 B.C.}

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

urgente¹ Q Fabio Maximo dictatore asses unciales facti, placuitque denarium xvi assibus permutari, quinariaum octonis, sestertium quateinis ita res p dimidium luciata est, in militari tamen stipendio 46 semper denarius pro x assibus datus est notre argenti fuere bigae atque quadrigae, inde bigati quadrigatique dicti

Mox lege Papiria semunciarum asses facti Livius Drusus in tribunatu plebei octavam partem aeris argento miscuit is, qui nunc victoriatus appellatur, lege Clodia percussus est, antea enim hic nummus ex Illyrico advectus mercis loco habebatur est autem signatus Victoria, et inde nomen

47 Aureus nummus post annos li² percussus est quam argenteus ita, ut scipulum valeret sestertios vicensos,³ quod effectum⁴ in librali⁵ ratione sestertiū,⁶ qui tunc erat, cccc⁷ postea placunt X xxxx signari ex auri libris, paulatimque principes inminuere pondus, et novissimme Nero ad xxxv

48 XIV Sed a nummo prima origo avaritiae faenoce excogitato quaestuosaque segnitia, nec paulatim exarsit rabie quadam non iam avaritia, sed fames auii,

¹ urgente *B*, cd *Par* 6801 urgente Marcum *rell* urgente Marcum *Minucium Brotier*

² LI *B* LXII *rell*

³ sestertios vicensos *Brotier* sestertius vicensus aut sestertius vicensis (sestertio *B* viciens *B¹* vincens *B²*)

⁴ effectum *K C Bailey* efficit *B*, cd *Par* 6801 efficit *rell*

⁵ librali *B* libras *rell* libram *Mayhoff*

⁶ sestertium *Urlichs* sestertiorum *Caesarius*

⁷ erat cd *Par* 6801 erant *rell* cccc *B* D nongenti *rell* (sestertios DCCCC cd *Par* 6801) varia editores

ship of Quintus Fabius Maximus, *asses* of one ounce weight were coined, and it was enacted that the exchange-value of the denarius should be sixteen *asses*, of the half-denarius eight and of the quarter-denarius four, by this measure the state made a clear gain of one half. But nevertheless in the pay of soldiers one denarius has always been given for ten *asses*. The designs on silver were a two-horse and a four-horse chariot, and consequently the coins were called a *pair of horses* and a *four-in-hand*.

Next according to a law of Papirius *asses*^{89 B.C.} weighing half an ounce were struck. Livius Drusus^a when holding the office of tribune of the plebs alloyed the silver with one-eighth part of bronze. The coin now named the victory coin was struck under the law of Clodius, previously a coin^{c 104 B.C.} of this name was imported from Illyria and was looked on as an article of trade. The design on it was a figure of Victory, which gives it its name.

The first gold coin was struck 51 years later than^{217 B.C.} the silver coinage, a scruple of gold having the value of twenty sesterces, this was done at 400 to the pound of silver, at the then rating of the sesterce. It was afterwards decided to coin denarii at the rate^{49 B.C.} of 40 from a pound of gold, and the emperors gradually reduced the weight of the gold denarius, and most recently Nero brought it down to 45 denarii to^{A.D. 54-68} the pound.

XIV But from the invention of money came the original source of avarice when usury was devised,^{Examples of misuse of gold} and a profitable life of idleness, by rapid stages what was no longer mere avarice but a positive

^a Probably the tribune of 123 B.C., not his son who was tribune in 91 B.C.

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

utpote cum Septumuleius, C Gracchi familiaris, auro
rependum caput eius abscisum ad Opimum
tulerint plumboque in os addito paucido suo rem p
etiam circumscripterent, nec iam Quirinum aliquis,
sed universo nomine Romano infami rex Mithridates
Aquilio duci capto aurum in os infudit haec pauc
49 habendi cupido^a pudet intuentem nomina ista, quae
subinde nova Graeco sermone ex cogitantui insperso
argenteis vasis auro et inclusu, quibus deliciis pluris
veneunt inaurata quam aurea, cum sciamus inter-
dixisse castris suis Spartacum, ne quis aurum haberet
aut argentum tanto plus fuit animi fugitivis nos-
50 tris^b Messalla orator prodidit Antonium triumvirum
aureis usum vasis in omnibus obscenis desideiis,
pudendo crimine etiam Cleopatrae summa apud
exteros licentiae fuerat Philippum regem poculo
aureo pulvinis subdito dormire solitum, Hagnonem
Teium, Alexandri Magni praefectum, aureis clavis
suffigere crepidas Antonius solus contumelia natu-
rae viritatem auro fecit o dignum proscriptione,
sed Spartaci^c
51 XV Evidem miror populum Romanum vires
gentibus in tributo semper argentum imperasse, non

^a Consul in 121 B.C.

^b After the battle of Protomachium in Asia Minor, 88 B.C.

^c Leader of a great slave rising in Italy, 73-71 B.C.

^d I.e. by a slave, not by a fellow freeman. Antony was infamous for the proscription which he inflicted in 43 B.C.

hunger for gold flared up with a sort of fiendishness, inasmuch as the friend of Gaius Gracchus, Septimius, a price having been set on Gracchus's head to the amount of its weight in gold, when Gracchus's head had been cut off, brought it to Opimius,^a after adding to his unnatural murder by putting lead in the mouth of the corpse, and so cheated the state in addition. Nor was it now some Roman citizen, but King Mithridates who disgraced the whole name of Roman when he poured molten gold into the mouth of the General Aquilius whom he had taken prisoner.^b These are the things that the lust for possessions engenders! One is ashamed to see the new-fangled names that are invented every now and then from the Greek to denote silver vessels filigreed or inlaid with gold, niceties which make gilded plate fetch a higher price than gold plate, when we know that Spartacus^c issued an order to his camp forbidding anybody to possess gold or silver so much more spirit was there then in our run-away slaves!^d The orator Messala has told us that the triumvir Antony used vessels of gold in satisfying all the indecent necessities, an enormity that even Cleopatra would have been ashamed of.^e Till then the record in extravagance had lain with foreigners—King Philip sleeping with a gold goblet under his pillows and Alexander the Great's prefect Hagnon of Teos having his sandals soled with gold nails, but Antony alone cheapened gold by this contumely of nature. How he deserved to be proscribed!^f but proscribed by Spartacus!^g

XV It does indeed surprise me that the Roman nation always imposed a tribute of silver, not of gold, on races that it conquered, for instance on Carthage

Examples of luxury and wealth in precious metals

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

aurum, sicut Carthaginē cum Hannibale victae octingenta milia, ¹ XVI¹ pondo annua in quinquaginta annos, nihil auri nec potest videi paenuria mundi id evenisse iam Midas et Cœesus infinitum possederant, iam Cyrus devicta Asia pondo ² XVIII invenerat praeter vasa aurumque factum et in eo solium,² platanum, vitæm qua victoria argenti ³ talentorum reportavit et craterem Semiamidis,

52 cuius pondus xv talentorum colligebat talentum Aegyptium pondo lxxx patere M⁴ Varro tradit iam regnaveiat in Colchis Saulaces Aeetae suboles, qui terram virginem nactus plurimum auri argentique eruisse dicitur in Suanorum gente, et alioqui velleribus aureis inclito regno et illius aureae camæiae, argenteæ trabes et columnæ atque parastaticæ narrantur victo ⁵ Sesostri, Aegypti rege tam superbo, ut prodatur annis quibusque sorte reges singulos e subiectis iungere ad currum solitus atque ita triumphe

53 XVI Et nos fecimus quæ posteri fabulosa arbitrentur Caesari, qui postea dictator fuit, primus in aedilitate munere patris funebri omni apparatu

¹ XVI Ian AVT cdd (om B argenti cd Par 6801)

² solū (i.e. solium) Mayhoff solia ac Pintianus foliatam Ian folia B folia ac rell

³ D coni Warmington

⁴ patere M Detlefsen capere Gelen pendere aut habere coni Mayhoff patere cdd (paterem cd Leid Loss)

⁵ victæ cd Par 6801

^a Probably the right reading is D = 500

^b The legend was that Phrixus flew there on a ram with a fleece of gold to escape from his stepmother, and married the

when conquered together with Hannibal, 800,000 ^{202 BC} pounds weight of silver in yearly instalments of 16,000 pounds spread over 50 years, but no gold. Nor can it be considered that this was due to the world's poverty. Midas and Croesus had already possessed wealth without limit, and Cyrus had already on conquering Asia Minor found booty consisting of 24,000 ^{546-5 BC} pounds weight of gold, besides vessels and articles made of gold, including a throne, a plane-tree and a vine. And by this victory he carried off 500,000 ^a talents of silver and the wine-bowl of Semiamis the weight of which came to 15 talents. The Aegyptian talent according to Marcus Varro amounts to 80 pounds of gold. Saulaces the descendant of Aeetes had already reigned in Colchis, who is said to have come on a tract of virgin soil in the country of the Suanis and elsewhere and to have dug up from it a great quantity of gold and silver, his realm being moreover famous for golden fleeces ^b. We are also told of his gold-vaulted ceilings and silver beams and columns and pilasters, belonging to Sesostris King of Egypt whom Saulaces conquered, so proud a monarch that he is reported to have been in the habit every year of harnessing to his chariot individual kings selected by lot from among his vassals and so going in triumphal procession.

XVI We too have done things to be deemed mythical by those who come after us. Caesar, the future dictator, was the first person in the office of aedile to use nothing but silver for the appointments ^{65 BC} of the arena—it was at the funeral games presented in honour of his father, and this was the first daughter of King Aeetes. The fleece was later carried away by Jason and the Argonauts.

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

harenae argenteo usus est, ferasque etiam argenteis
 vasis incessivere tum primum noxi, quod iam etiam¹
 in municipiis aemulantur C Antonius ludos scaena
 argentea fecit, item L Murena, Gaius princeps in
 circo pegma duxit, in quo fuere argenti pondo
 54 cxxxiii² Claudio successor eius, cum de Brittannia
 triumpharet, inter coronas aureas vii³ pondo habere
 quam contulisset Hispania citerior, viii⁴ quam Gallia
 comata, titulis indicavit huius deinde successor
 Nero Pompei theatrum operuit auro in unum diem,
 quo Tigridati Armeniae regi ostenderet et quota pars
 ea fuit aureae domus ambientis urbem⁵

55 XVII Auri in aerario populi R fuere Sex Iulio
 L Aurelio cos, septem annis ante bellum Punicum
 tertium, pondo xvii⁵ ccccx, argenti xxii LXX, et in
 numerato [lx] xxxv cccc, Sexto Iulio L Marcio cos,
 hoc est belli socialis initio, auri [xvi] xx DCCCXXXI

56 C Caesar primo introitu urbis civili bello suo ex
 aerario protulit laterum aureorum xv, aigenteorum
xxx, et in numerato⁷ [ccc] nec fuit aliis temporibus

¹ iam etiam *B* etiam *rell* iam et *coni* *Mayhoff*

² cxxxiii *B* cxxxiii aut cxxxiii *rell*

³ vii *B* vii *rell*

⁴ viii *B* viii *rell*

⁵ In §§ 55–56 numeri varie traduntur

⁶ lac *Dellefesen, Mommsen*

⁷ *Vll* nummo, numero (*add HS cdd nonnulli pondo cd Par 6801*)

^a A wooden edifice on wheels in two or more stages, which were raised and lowered, opened and closed, by machinery, on them performances were given

^b So *cd B* The number 124 or 134 of the other *cdd* is of course much too small

^c So *cd B* The other MSS give 7 and 9 The higher number is so absurd that perhaps we should omit *inter* and

occasion on which criminals made to fight with wild animals had all their equipment made of silver, a practice nowadays rivalled even in our municipal towns Gaius Antonius gave plays on a silver stage, and so did Lucius Murena, and the emperor Gaius Caligula brought on a scaffolding ^a in the ^{AD 37-41} circus which had on it 124,000^b pounds weight of silver His successor Claudius when celebrating a triumph after the conquest of Britain, advertised by placards ^{AD 43} that among the gold coronets there was one having a weight of 7000^c pounds contributed by Hither Spain and one of 9000^c from Gallia Comata His immediate successor Nero covered the theatre of ^{AD 54-68} Pompey with gold for one day's purpose, when he was to display it to Tiridates King of Armenia Yet how small was the theatre in comparison with Nero's Golden Palace which goes all round the city !

XVII The gold contained in the national treasury of Rome in the consulship of Sextus Julius ^{156 BC} and Lucius Aurelius, seven years before the third Punic War, amounted to 17,410 lbs, the silver to 22,070 lbs, and in specie there was 6,135,400 sesterces, in the consulship of Sextus Julius and ^{91 BC} Lucius Maecius, that is to say, at the beginning of the war with the allies,^d there was lbs of gold and 1,620,831 lbs of silver Gaius Julius Caesar, on first entering Rome during the civil war that bears ^{49 BC} his name, drew from the treasury 15,000 gold ingots, 30,000 silver ingots, and 30,000,000 sesterces in coin, at no other periods was the state more wealthy

tianslate 'that there were crowns weighing in all 7000 pounds contributed by Hither Spain and 9000 pounds from Gallia Comata'

^a See n on § 20

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

ies p locupletior intulit et Aemilius Paulus Perseo regē victo e Macedonia p̄aēda [MMM], a quo tempore populus Romanus tributum pendere desūt

57 XVIII Laquearia, quae nunc et in privatis domibus auro teguntur, post Caithaginem eversam primo in Capitolo inaurata sunt censura L Mummi inde transiere in camaras quoque et parietes, qui iam et ipsi tamquam vasa inaurantur, cum varie sua aetas de Catulo existimaverit, quod tegulas aereas Capitolii inaurasset

58 XIX Primos inventores auri, sicut metallorum fere omnium, septimo volumine diximus p̄aēciuam gratiam huic materiae fuisse arbitror non coloē, qui clarior in argento est magisque diei similis, ideo militaribus signis familiarior, quoniam¹ longius fulget, manifesto errore eorum, qui coloēm sideūm placuisse in auro arbitrantur, cum in gemma aliisque 59 iebus non sit p̄aēciuus nec pondere aut facilitate materiae p̄aelatum est ceteris metallis, cum cedat per utrumque plumbō,² sed quia ierum uni nihil igne deperit, tuto³ etiam in incendio rogisque quin immo quo saepius arsit, proficit ad bonitatem,

¹ Vl quo nimis quoniam in us coni Mayhoff

² plumbō cdd plumbum coni K C Bailey

³ Vll tota, toto

^a King of Macedonia, defeated at Pydna, 168 B C

^b It was not levied after 167 B C

^c I e he was by no means universally approved

^d This is not true

Aemilius Paulus also after the defeat of King Peiseus ^a paid in to the treasury from the booty won in Macedonia 300 million sesterces, and from that date onward the Roman nation left off paying the citizens' property-tax ^b

XVIII At the present day we see ceilings covered with gold even in private houses, but they were first gilded in the Capitol during the censorship of Lucius Mummius after the fall of Carthage ^{146 B C} From ceilings the use of gilding passed over also to vaulted roofs and walls, these too being now gilded like pieces of plate, whereas a variety of judgements were passed ^c on Catulus by his contemporaries for having gilded the brass tilings of the Capitol Between 79
and 60 B C

XIX We have already said in Book VII who ^{VII 97} were the people who first discovered gold, and almost all of the metals likewise I think that the chief popularity of this substance has been won not by its colour, that of silver being brighter and more like daylight, which is the reason why it is in more common use for military ensigns because its brilliance is visible at a greater distance, those persons who think that it is the colour of starlight in gold that has won it favour being clearly mistaken because in the case of gems and other things with the same tint it does not hold an outstanding place Nor is it its weight or its malleability that has led to its being preferred to all the rest of the metals, since in both qualities it yields ^d the first place to lead, but because gold is the only thing that loses no substance by the action of fire, but even in conflagrations and on funeral pyres receives no damage Indeed as a matter of fact it improves in quality the more often it is fired, and fire serves as a test of its goodness, Special
qualities of
gold

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

autique experimentum ignis est, ut simili colore
 iubeat ignescatque et ipsum, obrussam vocant
 60 primum autem bonitatis argumentum quam difficil-
 hme accendi praeterea mirum, p̄iunae¹ violentissimi
 ligni indomitum palea citissime ardescere atque,
 ut purgetur, cum plumbo coqui

Altera causa pretii maior, quod minimum usus
 deterit, cum argento, aeie, plumbo lineae praedu-
 61 cantur manusque soildescant decidua materia nec
 aliud laxius dilatatur aut numerosius dividitur, utpote
 cuius unciae in septingenas quinquagenas pluiesque
 bratteas quaternum utroque digitorum spargantur
 classissimae ex us Praenestinae vocantur, etiamnum
 retinentes² nomen Fortunae inauato fidelissime ibi
 62 simulacio proxima brattea quaestoria appellatur
 Hispania strigiles³ vocat aut parvolas massas super
 omnia solum in massa aut ramento capitur cum
 ceteia in metallis reperita igni perficiantur, hoc
 statim aurum est consummatamque materiam suam
 protinus habet, cum ita invenitui haec enim in-
 ventio eius naturalis est, alia, quam dicemus, coacta
 super cetera non robigo ulla, non aerugo, non aliud
 ex ipso, quod consumat bonitatem minuative pondus
 iam contra salis et aceti sucos, domitores rerum,
 constantia⁴ superiat omnia, superque⁵ netur ac

¹ pruna cd deperd recte?

² retinente B

³ V ll strigile, striges (B)

⁴ constantiam B

⁵ superat omnia superque Mayhoff superque superat
 omnia B superque omnia rell

^a Cf Schol ad Thue II 13 ὅβρυζον χρυσίον

^b A variant reading 'striges' gives 'grooves'

making it assume a similar red hue and itself becomes the colour of fire, this process is called assaying^a. The first proof of quality in gold is however its being affected by fire with extreme difficulty, beside that, it is remarkable that though invincible to live coal made of the hardest wood it is very quickly made red hot by a fire of chaff, and that for the purpose of purifying it it is roasted with lead.

Another more important reason for its value is that it gets extremely little worn by use, whereas, with silver, copper and lead, lines may be drawn, and stuff that comes off them dirties the hand. Nor is any other material more malleable or able to be divided into more portions, seeing that an ounce of gold can be beaten out into 750 or more leaves 4 inches square. The thickest kind of gold leaf is called Palestrina leaf, still bearing the name taken from the faithfully gilded statue of Fortune in that place. The foil next in thickness is styled Quaestorian leaf. In Spain tiny pieces of gold are called scrapers^b. Gold more than all other metals is found unalloyed in nuggets or in the form of detritus. Whereas all other metals when found in the mines are brought into a finished condition by means of fire, gold is gold straight away and has its substance in a perfect state at once, when it is obtained by mining. This is the natural way of getting it, while another which we shall describe is artificial. More ^{§§ 63 s. 42} than any other substance gold is immune from rust or verdigris or anything else emanating from it that wastes its goodness or reduces its weight. Moreover in steady resistance to the overpowering effect of the juices of salt and vinegar it surpasses all things, and over and above that it can be spun

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 63 texitur lanae modo vel sine lana tunica aurea tui unsphasse Tarquinium Priseum Veiius docet, nos vidimus Agrippinam Claudi principis, edente eo navalis proeli spectaculum, adsidentem et indutam paludamento aureo textili sine alia materia Attalicis vero iam priudem intexitui, invento regum Asiae
- 64 XX Marmori et iis, quae candefieri non possunt, ovi candido inclinitur, ligno glutini ratione composit¹, leucophorum vocant quid sit hoc aut quemadmodum fiat, suo loco docebimus aes inaurari argento vivo aut certe hydrargyro legitimum erat, de quis, ut² dicemus illorum naturam reddentes, excogitata fiaus
- 65 est namque aes cruciatur in primis³ accensumque restinguitur sale, aceto, alumine, postea examinatur,⁴ an satis recoctum sit, splendore deprehendente, iterumque exhalatur⁵ igni, ut possit, edomitum mixtis pumice et⁶ alumine, argento vivo inductas accipere bratteas alumen et in purgando vim habet qualem esse divimus plumbo
- 66 XXI Aurum invenitur in nostro orbe, ut omittamus Indicum a formicis aut apud Scythas grypis

¹ composito vel re composita coni Mayhoff

² ut cd Par 6801 om rell

³ primis cdd prunis coni D'Arcy Thompson

⁴ examinatur K C Bailey exhaerenatur

⁵ exhalatur cdd exhaerenatur Detlefsen excitatur coni Mayhoff

⁶ et add K C Bailey

^a Probably Attalus I of Pergamum, 241-197 B C

^b Literally 'fluid silver'

^c See XXXV 183 ff

^d I e alum purifies copper as lead purifies gold

into thiead and woven into a fabric like wool, even without an addition of wool. Veiius informs us that Tarquinius Priscus celebrated a triumph we uring a golden tunic. We have in our own times seen the Emperor Claudius's wife Agrippina, at a show at which he was exhibiting a naval battle, seated at his side wearing a military cloak made entirely of cloth of gold. For a long period gold has been woven into the fabric called cloth of Attalus,^a an invention of Kings of Asia.

XX On marble and other materials incapable of being raised to a white heat gold is laid with white of egg, on wood it is laid with glue according to a formula, it is called leucophorum, white-bearing, what this is and how it is made we will explain in its proper place. The regular way to gild copper would be to use natural or at all events artificial quicksilver,^b concerning which a method of adulteration has been devised, as we shall relate in describing the nature of those substances. The copper is first subjected to the violence of fire, then, when it is red hot, it is quenched with a mixture of brine, vinegar, and alum,^c and afterwards put to a test, its brilliance of colour showing whether it has been sufficiently heated, then it is again dived in the fire, so that, after a thorough polishing with a mixture of pumice and alum, it is able to take the gold-leaf laid on with quicksilver. Alum has the same cleansing property here that we said is found in lead.^d

XXI Gold in our part of the world—not to speak of the Indian gold obtained from ants or the gold dug up by griffins in Scythia^e—is obtained in three

^a This Indian and Scythian gold was perhaps got from Tibet. The stories about it go back to Herodotus.

*Traditional
dates 616-
578 B.C.*

*Methods for
discovering
gold*

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

erutum, tribus¹ modis fluminum ramentis ut in Tago Hispaniae, Pado Italiae, Hebro Thraciae, Pactolo Asiae, Gange Indiae, nec ullum absolutius aurum est, ut cursu ipso attrituque peripolitum a hō modo puteorum scrobibus effoditur aut in ruina montium quaeritur², utraque iātio dicatur

- 67 Aurum qui quaerunt, ante omnia segulum³ tollunt, ita vocatum indicium alveus hic est haenae, quae lavatur, atque ex eo, quod resedit, conjectura capitur invenitur aliquando in summa tellure protinus iāia felicitate, ut nuper in Dalmatia principatu Neionis singulis diebus etiam quinquagenas libias fundens cum ita inventum est in summo caespite, talutium⁴ vocant, si et aurosa tellus subest cetero montes Hispaniarum, aīdi sterilesque et in quibus nihil aliud gignatur, huic⁵ bono fertiles esse coguntur
- 68 Quod puteis foditur, canalicium vocant, aliū canahense, marmoris glareae inhaerens, non illo modo, quo in oriente⁶ sappiro atque Thebaico aliisque in gemmis scintillat, sed micans⁷ amplexu⁸ marmoris vagantur hi venarum canales per latera puteorum et hoc illuc, inde nomine invento, tellusque ligneis
 69 columnis suspenditur quod effossum est, tunditur,

¹ tribus *Bergk* apud nos tribus
quaeritur *B* quare *rell*

³ *I l* segulum

⁴ talutium *B* talutatium *rell* alutitium *Hardouin*
alutiatum *Gronov* an alutium (*cf* XXXIV, 157)?

⁵ hoc *coni* *Warmington*

⁶ orientis *coni* *Mayhoff*

⁷ micans *B²* micas

⁸ amplexu *Salmasius* amplexum

ways in the detritus of rivers, for instance in the Tagus in Spain, the Po in Italy, the Maritza in Thrace, the Sarabat in Asia Minor and the Ganges in India, and there is no gold that is in a more perfect state, as it is thoroughly polished by the mere friction of the current. Another method is by sinking shafts, or it is sought for in the fallen debris of mountains. Each of these methods must be described.

People seeking for gold begin by getting up *segillum*^a—that is the name for earth that indicates the presence of gold. This is a pocket of sand, which is washed, and from the sediment left an estimate of the vein is made. Sometimes by a rare piece of luck a pocket is found immediately, on the surface of the earth, as occurred recently in Dalmatia when Nero was emperor, one yielding fifty pounds weight of gold a day. Gold found in this way in the surface crust is called *talutum* if there is also auriferous earth underneath. The otherwise dry, barren mountains of the Spanish provinces which produce nothing else whatever are forced into fertility in regard to this commodity.

AD 54-68

Gold dug up from shafts is called ‘channelled’ or *gold-mining* ‘trenched gold’, it is found sticking to the grit of marble, not in the way in which it gleams in the lapis lazuli of the East and the stone^b of Thebes and in other precious stones, but sparkling in the folds of the marble. These channels of veins wander to and fro along the sides of the shafts, which gives the gold its name, and the earth is held up by wooden props. The substance dug out is crushed, washed,

^a *Segullo* is still the miners’ name for surface earth in auriferous deposits in Castile.

^b Apparently some micaceous granite.

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

lavatu, uitui, molitu in farinam, farinam¹ a pila scudem² vocant, argentum, quod exit a fornace, sudorem quae e camino iactatur spurcitia in omni metallo scoria appellatur haec in auro tunditui iterumque coquitur catini fiunt ex tasconio, hoc est terra alba similis argillae, neque enim alia flatum ignemque et ardente materiali tolerat

70 Tertia ratio opera vicerit Gigantum cuniculis per magna spatia actis cavantur montes luceinatum ad lumina, eadem mensura vigilium est, multisque mensibus non cernitur dies

Arrugias id genus vocant siduntque iimae subito et opprimunt operatos,³ ut iam minus temerarium videatur e profundo maris petere margaritas atque purpuras tanto nocentiores fecimus terras⁴ relinquentur itaque fornices crebii montibus sustinendis

71 occurasant in utroque geneie silices, hos igne et aceto rumpunt, saepius vero, quoniam id cuniculos⁴ vapore et fumo strangulat, caedunt fractariis et libias ferri habentibus egeruntque umeris noctibus ac diebus per tenebras proximis tradentes, lucem novissimi cernunt si longior videtur silex, latus

¹ molitur (*aut* mollitur) in farinam, farinam *Warmington* mollitur (*B, cd Par* 6801 molitur *rell*) farinam (in farinam *cd Flor Ricc et ut videtur cd Par* 6801)

² a pila scudem *Madvig* a p euudem *Detlefsen* apitascudem *B* *terra rell cdd et edd*

³ *Vll* operantes, operarios

⁴ id cuniculos *B* in cuniculis *rell*

^a A given amount of oil is known to last a specified time

^b *Arrugia* is said to be the term for a deep mine in Spain to day The word is probably connected *opūστω*, dig

fired and ground to a soft powder. The powder from the mortar is called the '*scudes*' and the silver that comes out from the furnace the 'sweat', the dirt thrown out of the smelting-furnace in the case of every metal is called '*scoria*', slag. In the case of gold the scoria is pounded and fired a second time, the crucibles for this are made of tasconium, which is a white earth resembling clay. No other earth can stand the blast of air, the fire, or the intensely hot material.

The third method will have outdone the achievements of the Giants. By means of galleries driven for long distances the mountains are mined by the light of lamps—the spells of work are also measured by lamps,^a and the miners do not see daylight for many months.

The name for this class of mines is *arrugiae*,^b also cracks give way suddenly and crush the men who have been at work, so that it actually seems less venturesome to try to get pearls and purple-fishes out of the depth of the sea so much more dangerous have we made the earth! Consequently arches are left at frequent intervals to support the weight of the mountain above. In both kinds of mining masses of flint are encountered, which are burst asunder by means of fire and vinegar, though more often, as this method makes the tunnels suffocating through heat and smoke, they are broken to pieces with crushing-machines carrying 150 lbs of iron, and the men carry the stuff out on their shoulders, working night and day, each man passing them on to the next man in the dark, while only those at the end of the line see daylight. If the bed of flint seems too long, the miner follows along the side of it

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

sequitur fossor ambitque et tamen in silice facilior
 72 existimatur opera, est namque teria ex quodam
 argillae genere glarea mixta—gangadiam vocant—
 prope inexpugnabilis cuneis eam ferreis adgredi-
 untur et isdem malleis nihilque durius putunt, nisi
 quod inter omnia aurum fames durissima est peracto
 ope re cervices fornicum ab ultimo caedunt¹ dat
 signum rima, eamque² solus intellegit in cacumine
 73 eius montis vigil hic voce, nutu³ evocari iubet
 operas pariterque ipse devolat mons fractus cadit
 ab sese longe flagore qui concipi humana mente
 non possit, aequo et flatu incredibili spectant victo-
 res ruinam naturae nec tamen adhuc aurum est
 nec sciere esse, cum foderent, tantaque ad pericula
 et impendia satis causae fuit sperare quod cuperent
 74 Alius pauci labor ac vel maioris impendi flumina ad
 lavandam hanc ruinam iugis⁴ montium obiter duxere
 a centesimo plerumque lapide, corrugos vocant, a
 confricatione credo mille et hic labores praeceps

¹ cadunt B

² rima eamque cd Par 6801 ruina eamque B et al
 ruinamque rell ruinae eamque Gelen ruinae rima eamque
 Deilefsen

³ voce nutu B voce ictuve cd Tolet vocent utve rell
 voce in tutum Deilefsen

⁴ fortasse <a> vel <ab> iugis

and goes round it And yet flint is considered to involve comparatively easy work, as there is a kind of earth consisting of a sort of potter's clay mixed with gravel, called *gangadra*, which it is almost impossible to overcome They attack it with iron wedges and the hammer-machines mentioned above, and it is thought to be the hardest thing that exists, except greed for gold, which is the most stubborn of all things When the work is completely finished, beginning with the last, they cut through, at the tops, the supports of the arched roofs A crack gives warning of a crash, and the only person who notices it is the sentinel on a pinnacle of the mountain He by shout and gesture gives the order for the workmen to be called out and himself at the same moment flies down from his pinnacle The fractured mountain falls asunder in a wide gap, with a crash which it is impossible for human imagination to conceive, and likewise with an incredibly violent blast of air The miners gaze as conquerors upon the collapse of Nature And nevertheless even now there is no gold so far, nor did they positively know there was any when they began to dig, the mere hope of obtaining their coveted object was a sufficient inducement for encountering such great dangers and expenses

Another equally laborious task involving even greater expense is the incidental operation of previously bringing streams along mountain-heights frequently a distance of 100 miles for the purpose of washing away the debris of this collapse, the channels made for this purpose are called *corrugis*, a term derived I believe from *concurvatio*, a uniting of streams of water This also involves a thousand

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

esse libramentum oportet, ut ruat verius quam fluat,
itaque altissimis partibus ducitur convales et in-
tervalla substructis canalibus iunguntur alibi rupes
inviae caeduntur sedemque trabibus cavatis p̄aeberē
75 coguntur qui caedit, funibus pendet, ut procul
intuenti species ne ferarum quidem, sed alitum fiat
pendentes maiore ex parte librant et lineas itineri
praeducunt, quaque insistentis vestigis hominis
locus non est, amnes trahuntur ab homine¹ vitium
lavandī est, si fluens amnis lutum importet, id genus
terrae urium vocant ergo per silices calculosve
ducunt et urium evitant ad capita deiectus in
supericilis montium piscinae cavantur ducenos pedes
in quasque partes et in altitudinem denos emissaria
in us quina pedum quadratorum tēnum fere relin-
quuntur, ut repleto stagno excussis opturamentis
76 erumpat torrens tanta vi ut saxa provolvat aliis
etiamnum in plano labor fossae, per quas profluat,
cavantur—agogas vocant—, hae sternuntur grada-
tim ulice frutex est roris marini similis, asper
aurumque retinens latera cluduntur tabulis, ac per

¹ trahuntur ab homine *B* trahuntur ad homines *rell*
trahunt omne *Hardouin*

^a *I e* the gold bearing debris

^b The identification is doubtful in view of the alleged
resemblance to rosemary Rosemary may be called 'rough,'
but it is not prickly like gorse

tasks, the dip of the fall must be steep, to cause a rush rather than a flow of water, and consequently it is brought from very high altitudes Gorges and crevasses are bridged by aqueducts carried on masonry, at other places impassable rocks are hewn away and compelled to provide a position for hollowed troughs of timber The workman hewing the rock hangs suspended with ropes, so that spectators viewing the operations from a distance seem to see not so much a swarm of strange animals as a flight of birds In the majority of cases they hang suspended in this way while taking the levels and marking out the lines for the route, and rivers are led by man's agency to run where there is no place for a man to plant his footsteps It spoils the operation of washing if the current of the stream carries mud along with it an earthy sediment of this kind is called *urium* Consequently they guide the flow over flint stones and pebbles, and avoid *urium* At the head of the waterfall on the brow of the mountains reservoirs are excavated measuring 200 ft each way and 10 ft deep In these there are left five sluices with apertures measuring about a yard each way, in order that when the reservoir is full the stopping-barriers may be struck away and the torrent may burst out with such violence as to sweep forward the broken rock^a There is also yet another task to perform on the level ground Trenches are excavated for the water to flow through —the Greek name for them means 'leads', and these, which descend by steps, are floored with gorse^b—this is a plant resembling rosemary, which is rough and holds back the gold The sides are closed in with planks, and the channels are carried

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

praerupta suspenduntur canales ita profluens teria
in mare labitur ruptusque mons diluitur, ac longe
terras in mare his de causis iam promovit Hispania

77 in priore genere quae exhauriuntur immenso labore,
ne occupent puteos, in hoc rigantur aurum ariugia
quaesitum non coquitur, sed statim suum¹ est in-
veniuntur ita massae, nec non in puteis, et denas
excedentes libras, palagas,² ali palacurnas,³ uidem
quod minutum est balucem vocant ulex siccatur,
uritur, et cinis eius lavatu substrato caespite hei-

78 boso, ut sidat aurum vicena milia pondo ad hunc
modum annis singulis Asturiam atque Callaeciam et
Lusitaniam praestare quidam prodiderunt, ita ut
plurimum Asturia gignat neque in alia terrarum
parte tot saeculis perseverat haec fertilitas Italiae
parci vete interdicto patrum diximus, alioqui nulla
fecundior metallorum quoque erat tellus extat lex
censoria Victumularum⁴ aurifodinae in Vercellensi
agro, qua cavebatur, ne plus quinque milia hominum
in opere publicani haberent

79 XXII Aurum faciendi est etiamnum una ratio ex
auripigmento, quod in Syria foditur pictoribus in
summa tellure, auri colore, sed fragile lapidum
speculaui modo invitaveratque spes Gaium prin-

¹ sudum coni Hermolaus Barbarus

² palagas B palacas rell palacras ed Basil

³ Vll psalacurnas, palacranas

⁴ Victumularum B Vll victim , vittim (vici) Ictimu
lorum Hermolaus Barbarus coll Strab

on arches over steep pitches Thus the earth carried along in the stream slides down into the sea and the shattered mountain is washed away, and by this time the land of Spain owing to these causes has encroached a long way into the sea The material drawn out at such enormous labour in the former kind of mining is in this latter process washed out, ^{§ 67} so as not to fill up the shafts The gold obtained by means of an *arrugia*^a does not have to be melted, but is pure gold straight away In this process nuggets are found and also in the shafts, even weighing more than ten pounds They are called palagae or else palacurnae, and also the gold in very small grains baluce The gorse is dried and burnt and its ash is washed on a bed of grassy turf so that the gold is deposited on it According to some accounts Asturia and Callaecia and Lusitania produce in this way 20,000 lbs weight of gold a year, Asturia supplying the largest amount Nor has there been in any other part of the world such a continuous production of gold for so many centuries We have stated that by an old prohibiting decree of the senate Italy is protected from exploitation, otherwise no country would have been more productive in metals, as well as in crops There is extant a ruling of the censors relating to the gold mines of Victumulæ in the territory of Vercellæ which prohibited the farmers of public revenues from having more than 5000 men engaged in the work

XXII There is moreover one method of making gold out of orpiment^b which is dug up in Syria for use by painters, it is found on the surface of the earth, and is of a gold colour, but is easily broken, like looking-glass stone Hopes inspired by it had

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

cipem avidissimum aurum, quam ob rem iussit excoqui magnum pondus et plane fecit aurum excellens, sed ita parvi ponderis, ut detimentum sentiat propter avium uitiam expertus, quamquam auripigmenti libiae X IIII permutaentur nec postea temptatum ab ullo est

80 XXIII Omni auro inest aargentum vario pondere, aliubi decuma parte,¹ aliubi octava in uno tantum Callaeciae metallo, quod vocant Albucrarense, tricicensima sexta portio invenitur, ideo ceteris praestat ubicumque quinta argenti portio est, electrum vocatur, scobes hae reperiuntur in canaliensi fit et cura electrum aimento addito quod si quintam portio-
 81 nem excessit, incudibus non resistit vestusta et electro auctoritas Homero teste, qui Menelai regiam auro, electro, argento, eboe fulgere tradidit Miner-vae templum habet Lindos insulae² Rhodiorum, in quo Helena sacravit calicem ex electro, adicit historia, mammae suae mensura electri natura est ad lucernarium lumina clarius argento splendere quod est nativum, et venena deprehendit namque discurrunt in calicibus aicus caelestibus similes cum igneo stridore et gemina ratione praedicunt

¹ decuma parte *B* non *ell* (*nona cd Par Lat* 6797
dena aliibi nona cd Par 6801)

² insula *B* in insula *coni Mayhoff*

^a Properly the word means ‘amber’ See § 1, note
^b *Od IV* 71 ff

attracted the Emperor Gaius Caligula, who was ^{AD 37-41} extremely covetous for gold, and who consequently gave orders for a great weight of it to be smelted, and as a matter of fact it did produce excellent gold, but so small a weight of it that he found himself a loser by his experiment that was prompted by avarice, although orpiment sold for 4 denarii a pound, and no one afterwards has repeated the experiment

XXIII All gold contains silver in various proportions, a tenth part in some cases, an eighth in others. In one mine only, that of Callaecia called the Albucrara mine, the proportion of silver found is one thirty-sixth, and consequently this one is more valuable than all the others. Wherever the proportion of silver is one-fifth, the ore is called electrum ^a, grains of this are found in 'channelled' ^{of § 68} gold. An artificial electrum is also made by adding silver to gold. If the proportion of silver exceeds one-fifth, the metal produced offers no resistance on the anvil. Electrum also held a high position in old times, as is evidenced by Homer ^b who represents the palace of Menelaus as resplendent with gold, electrum, silver and ivory. There is a temple of Athena at Lindus of the island of Rhodes in which there is a goblet made of electrum, dedicated by Helen, history further relates that it has the same measurement as her breast. A quality of electrum is that it shines more brightly than silver in lamp-light. Natural electrum also has the property of detecting poisons, for semicircles resembling rainbows run over the surface in poisoned goblets and emit a crackling noise like fire, and so advertise the presence of poison in a twofold manner.

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 82 XXIV Aurea statua p̄ima omnium nullū inani-
tate et antequam ex aere aliqua modo fieret, quam
vocant holosphyiaton, in templo Anaitidis posita di-
citur quo situ terrārum nomen hoc signavimus,
83 numine gentibus illis sacratissimo dñepta ea est
Antonii Parthicus iebus, scitumque narratur vetera-
norū unius Bononiae hospitali divi Augusti cena,
cum interrogatus¹ esset, sciretne² eum, qui p̄imus
violasset id numen, oculis membrisque captum ex-
spirasse, respondit enim cum maxime Augustum e
crure³ eius cenare seque illum esse totumque sibi
censem ex ea iapina hominum p̄imus et auream
statuam et solidam LXX⁴ circitei olympiade Gorgias
Leontinus Delphis in templo posuit sibi tantus eiāt
docendae artis oratoriae quaestus
- 84 XXV Aurum pluribus modis pollet in remedius
volneratisque et infantibus adplicatur, ut minus
noceant quae infeiantur beneficia est et ipsi
superlato⁵ vis malefica, gallinatum quoque et
pecuariorum⁶ feturis remedium abluere inlitum⁷
et spargere eos, quibus mederi velis torretur et cum

¹ interrogatus *B* interrogaretur *rell*

² esset sciretne *B²* esset *B¹* essetne (*aut* essene) verum
rell esset verumne esset *Ian*

³ crurore *cd* *Par* 6801

⁴ LXXX *Berg*

superlito *Gronov*

⁶ pecuariorum *cd* *Flor Ricc* pecorum *rell*

⁷ inlitum *Gronov* inlatum

^a V 83, where Anaitica is said to be a region divided from Cappadocia by the upper Euphrates

^b 500-497 B C But Gorgias the 'sophist' visited Athens in 427 B C and professed rhetoric and philosophy there in subsequent years Probably the right date is the 90th Olympiad (420-417 B C)

XXIV The first gold statue of all that was made *golden statues* of solid metal and even before any was made of bronze, of the kind called 'made of solid beaten metal,' is said to have been erected in the temple of Anaitis, in the region of the earth where we have designated this name,^a that goddess' deity being held in the highest reverence by those races. This statue was taken as booty during the campaigns of c. 36 B.C. Antonius in Parthia, and a story is told of a witty saying of one of the veterans of our army who was being entertained as a guest at dinner by his late lamented Majesty Augustus at Bologna. He was asked whether it was true that the man who was the first to commit this sacrilege against that deity was struck blind and paralysed and so expired. His answer was that the emperor was at that very moment eating his dinner off one of the goddess's legs, and that he himself was the perpetrator of the sacrilege and owed his entire fortune to that piece of plunder. The first solid gold statue of a human being was one of himself set up by Gorgias of Leontini in the temple at Delphi about the 70th Olympiad.^b So great were the profits to be made by teaching the art of oratory!

XXV Gold is efficacious as a remedy in a variety *Medicinal uses of gold* of ways, and is used as an amulet for wounded people and for infants to render less harmful poisonous charms that may be directed against them. Gold has itself however a maleficent effect if carried over the head, in the case of chickens and the young of cattle as well as human beings. As a remedy it is smeared on, then washed off and sprinkled on the persons you wish to cure. Gold is also heated with twice its weight of salt and

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

salis gemino ponde*e*e, triplici misyis ac rursus cum ii
 salis portionibus et un*i* lapidis, quem schistum vocant
 ita virus trahit rebus una crematis in fictili vase,
 85 ipsum purum et incorruptum reliquus cenis ser-
 vatus in fictili olla, ex qua¹ inlitas² lichenas in facie
 lomento eo convenit ablui fistulas etiam sanat et
 quae vocantur haemorroides quodsi tutus pumex
 adiciatur, putria ulcera et taet*u* odoris emendat, ex
 melle vero decoctum cum melanthio inlitem umbilico
 leniter solvit alvum auro verrucas cuiari M Vario
 auctor est

86 XXVI Chrysocolla humor est in puteis, quos
 diximus, per venam aur*i* defluens crassescente limo
 rigoribus hibernis usque in duritiam pumicis lauda-
 tiorem eandem in aeraris metallis et proximam in
 aegentaris fieri conpertum est invenitur et in
 plumbaris vihor etiam³ auraria in omnibus autem
 his metallis fit et cui*a* multum infia naturalem illam
 immisxis in venam aquis leniter hieme tota usque in
 Iunium mensem, dein siccatis Iunio et Julio, ut plane
 intellegatur nihil aliud chrysocolla quam vena putuis
 87 nativa duritia maxime distat, uvam vocant et
 tamen illa quoque herba, quam lutum appellant,
 tinguitur natura est, quae lino lanaeve, ad sucum

¹ qua *B* aqua rell ² inlitas *B*² inlitus
³ fortasse tamen

^a *Lomentum* is properly barley meal mixed with rice

^b See § 4, note

^c Or ‘Another sort is found in lead mines, but it is inferior
 to the true “gold” kind’

three times its weight of copper pyrites, and again with two portions of salt and one of the stone called 'splittable' Treated in this way it draws poison out, when the other substances have been burnt up with it in an earthenware crucible while it remains pure and uncorrupted itself The ash remaining is kept in an earthenware jar, and eruptions on the face may well be cleansed away by being smeared with this lotion ^a from the jar It also cures fistulas and what are called haemorrhoids With the addition of ground pumicestone it relieves putrid and foul smelling ulcers, while boiled down in honey and gilt, and applied as a liniment to the navel it acts as a gentle aperient According to Marcus Varro gold is a cure for warts

XXVI Gold-solder ^b is a liquid found in the <sup>Gold
solder</sup> shafts we spoke of, flowing down along a vein of gold, §§ 67 s. 17 with a slime that is solidified by the cold of winter even to the hardness of pumicestone A more highly spoken of variety of the same metal has been ascertained to be formed in copper mines, and the next best in silver-mines A less valuable sort also with an element of gold is also found in lead mines ^c In all these mines however an artificial variety is produced that is much inferior to the natural kind referred to, the method is to introduce a gentle flow of water into the vein all winter and go on till the beginning of June and then to dry it off in June and July, clearly showing that gold-solder is nothing else than the putrefaction of a vein of metal Natural gold-solder, known as 'grape,' differs very greatly from the artificial in hardness, and nevertheless it also takes a dye from the plant called yellow-weed It is of a substance that absorbs moisture,

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

bibendum tunditur in pila, dein tenui cribro cernitur, postea molitur ac deinde tenuius cibatur quidquid non transmeat, repetitur in pila, dein
88 molitur pulvis semper in catinos digerunt et ex aceto maceiatur, ut omnis dunitur solvatur, ac rursus tunditur, dein lavatur, in conchis siccatur, tum tinguitur alumine schisto et herba supia dicta purgaturque, antequam pingat reficit quam bibula docilisque sit nam nisi rapuit colorem, adduntur et scytanum atque turbustum, ita vocant medicamenta subere cogentia
89 XXVII Cum tinere pictores, orobitum vocant eiusque duo genera faciunt elutam,¹ quae servatur in lomentum, et liquidam globulis sudore resolutus haec utraque genera in Cypro fiunt laudatissima autem est in Armenia, secunda in Macedonia, largissima in Hispania, summa² commendationis, ut colorem in herba segetis laete virentis quam similis reddat visumque iam est Neronis principis spectaculis haenam circi chrysocolla sterni, cum ipse concolori panno aurigaturus esset indocta opificum turba tribus eam generibus distinguit asperam, quae
90

¹ luteam *Hermolaus Barbarus fortasse recte* (cf § 91)
² *Vl summae summa est Ian*

^a Cf XXXV 186

^b These two substances have not been identified

^c Perhaps we should adopt the reading *luteam*

like flax or wool. It is pounded in a mortar and then passed through a fine sieve, and afterwards milled and then sifted again with a finer sieve, everything that does not pass through the sieve being again treated in the mortar and then milled again. The powder is all along separated off into bowls and steeped in vinegar so as to dissolve all hardness, and then is pounded again and then rinsed in shells and left to dry. Then it is dyed by means of 'splittable' alum^a and the plant above mentioned and so given a colour before it serves as a colour itself. It is important how absorbent it is and ready to take the dye, for if it does not at once catch the colour, scytanum and turbistum^b must be added as well—those being the names of two drugs producing absorption.

XXVII When painters have dyed gold-soldei, they call it orobitis, vetch-like, and distinguish two kinds, the purified,^c which is kept for a cosmetic, and the liquid, in which the little balls are made into a paste with a liquid. Both of these kinds are made in Cyprus, but the most highly valued is in Armenia and the second best in Macedonia, while the greatest quantity is produced in Spain, the highest recommendation in the latter being the quality of reproducing as closely as possible the colour in a bright green blade of corn. We have before now seen at the shows given by the emperor Nero the sand of the circus sprinkled with gold-soldei when the emperor in person was going to give an exhibition of chariot-driving wearing a coat of that colour. The unlearned multitude of artisans distinguish three varieties of the substance, the rough, which is valued at 7 denarii a pound, the

A.D. 54

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- taxatui¹ in libras X vii, medium quae X v, attritam,
quam et herbaceam vocant, X iii sublinunt autem
harenosam, priusquam inducant, atiamento et
91 Paraetonio haec sunt tenacia eius, colore blanda
Paraetonium, quoniam est natura pinguissimum et
propter levorem tenacissimum, atiamento aspergitur,
ne Paraetonii candor pallorem chrysocollae adferat
luteam putant a luto herba dictam, quam ipsum
caeruleo substritam pro chrysocolla inducunt, vilis-
simo genere atque fallacissimo
- 92 XXVIII Usus chrysocollae et in medicina est ad
purganda volnera cum cera atque oleo eadem per
se arida siccatur et² contrahit datui et in angina
orthopnoeave lingenda cum melle concitat vomita-
tiones, miscetur et collyrii ad cicatrices oculorum ac
viridibus emplastiis ad dolores mitigandos, cicatrices
trahendas hanc chrysocollam medici acesim appell-
lant, quae non est orobitis
- 93 XXIX Chrysocollam et aurifices sibi vindicant
adglutinando auro, et inde omnes appellatas similiter
virentes dicunt temperatur autem Cypria aerugine
et pueri in pubis urina addito nitro teriturque Cyprio

¹ mataxatur *B* iam taxatur *cons* *Mayhoff*

² siccatur et *B*, *cd Par* 6801 et sicca rell

^a *Paraetonium*, see XXXV, 30, 36

^b ἀκεοις, a remedy, healing

^c Or, child (of either sex)

middling, which is 5 denarii, and the crushed, also called the grass-green kind, 3 denarii Before applying the sandy variety they put on a preliminary coating of black dye and pure white chalk^a these serve to hold the gold-solder and give a softness of colour As the pure chalk is of a very unctuous consistency and extremely tenacious owing to its smoothness, it is sprinkled with a coat of black, to prevent the extreme whiteness of the chalk from imparting a pale hue to the gold-solder The yellow gold-solder is thought to derive its name from the plant yellow-weed, which is itself often pounded up with steel-blue and applied for painting instead of gold-solder, making a very inferior and counterfeit kind of colour

XXVIII Gold-solder is also used in medicine, mixed with wax and olive oil, for cleansing wounds, likewise applied dry by itself it dries wounds and draws them together It is also given in cases of quinsy or asthma, to be taken as an electuary with honey It acts as an emetic, and also is used as an ingredient in salves for sores in the eyes and in green plasters for relieving pains, and drawing together scars This kind of gold-solder is called by medical men 'remedial solder,'^b and is not the same as orobitis

XXIX The goldsmiths also use a special gold-solder of their own for soldering gold, and according to them it is from this that all the other substances with a similar green colour take the name The mixture is made with Cyprian copper verdigris and the urine of a boy^c who has not reached puberty with the addition of soda^d, this is ground with a pestle

^a Sodium carbonate

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

aere in cyprius mortauius, santeinam vocant nostri
ifa feruminatu aurum, quod aargentosum vocant
signum est, si addita santerna nitescit e diverso
aerosum contrahit se hebetaturque et difficulter
feruminatur ad id glutinum fit auro et septima
argenti parte ad supra dicta additis unaque tuis

94 XXX Contenique par est reliqua circa hoc, ut
universa naturae contingat admiratio auro glutini-
num est tale, aigilla feiro, cadmea aevis massis,
alumen larnnis, resina plumbo et marmor, at plum-
bum nigrum albo iungitur ipsumque album sibi oleo,
item stagnum aeramentis, stagno aargentum pineis
optume lignis aes ferrumque funditur, sed et Aegyptio
papyro, paleis aurum calx aqua accenditur et
Thiacus lapis, idem oleo restinguatur, ignis autem
acetum maxime et visco et ovo teria minime flagrat,
carboni vis maior exusto iterumque flagranti

95 XXXI Ab his argenti metalla dicantur, quae
sequens insania est non nisi in puteis reperiuntur
nullaque spe sui nascitur, nullis, ut in auro, lucentibus

^a Here zinc oxide See also XXXIV 100

^b Tin

^c Or *stannum*, an alloy of silver and lead

^d Perhaps a kind of asphalt

made of Cyprian copper in mortars of the same metal, and the Latin name for the mixture as santerna. It is in this way used in soldering the gold called silvery-gold, a sign of its having been so treated is if the application of borax gives it brilliance. On the other hand 'coppery' gold shrinks in size and becomes dull, and is difficult to solder, for this purpose a solder is made by adding some gold and one seventh as much silver to the materials above specified, and grinding them up together.

XXX While speaking of this it will be well to annex the remaining particulars, so as to occasion all-round admiration for Nature. The proper solder for gold is the one described, for iron, potter's clay, for copper in masses, *cadmea*^a, for copper in sheets, alum, for lead and marble, resin. Black lead however is joined by means of white lead,^b and white lead to white lead by using oil, stannum^c likewise with copper filings, and silver with stannum. For smelting copper and iron pine-wood makes the best fuel, though Egyptian papyrus can also be used, gold is best smelted with a fire made of chaff. Water sets fire to quicklime and Thracian stone,^d and olive-oil puts it out, fire however is most readily quenched by vinegar, mistletoe and eggs. Earth it is quite impossible to ignite, but charcoal gives a more powerful heat if it is burned till it goes out and then catches fire again.

XXXI After these details let us speak about the *silver* varieties of silver ore, the next madness of mankind. Silver is only found in deep shafts, and raises no hopes of its existence by any signs, giving off no shining sparkles such as are seen in the case of gold.

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

scintillis teria est alias iubra, alias¹ cineracea excoqui non potest, nisi cum plumbo nigro aut cum vena plumbi—galenam vocant—, quae iuxta iugenti venas pleiumque reperiuntur et eodem opere ignium discedit pars in plumbum, aargentum autem innatat² superne, ut oleum aquis

- 96 Reperitur in omnibus paene provinciis, sed in Hispania pulcherrimum, id quoque in sterili solo itaque etiam montibus, et ubicumque una inventa vena est non procul invenitur alia hoc quidem et in omni fere materia, unde metalla Graeci videntur divisere mirum, adhuc per Hispanias ab Hannibale inchoatos durare puteos sua nomina ab inventoriis habent,
- 97 ex quis Baebelo appellatur hodie, qui ccc pondo Hannibali subministravit in dies, ad MD prissus iam cavato monte, per quod spatium aquatini³ stantes noctibus diebusque egerunt aquas luceinatum mensura amnemque faciunt aargentis vena in summo reperta ciudaria appellatur finis antiquis fodiendi solebat esse alumnen inventum, ultia nihil quaerebatur nuper inventa aeris vena infra alumnen nullam finem spei fecit odoe ex argenti fodinis inimicus omnibus animalibus, sed maxime canibus aurum argentumque quo mollius, eo pulchrius lineas ex argento nigras praeduci plerique mirantur
- 99 XXXII Est et lapis in us venis, cuius vomica

¹ *Vl* rufa alia ² natat *B*

³ aquatini *coni* *Silling* Accitanici *coni* *Hardouin* Iacetani *Pintianus* iquitini

^a Still so called It is lead sulphide, the most useful lead ore For *galena* in a different sense, see XXXIV 159

^b Taking μεταλλα is (ἀλλα) μετ ἀλλα 'one after another'

^c Possibly carbon dioxide, which, since it lies low, would affect dogs before men

The ore is sometimes red, sometimes ash-coloured It cannot be smelted except when combined with lead or with the vein of lead, called galena,^a lead ore, which is usually found running near veins of silver ore Also when submitted to the same process of firing, part of the ore precipitates as lead while the silver floats on the surface, like oil on water

Silver is found in almost all the provinces, but the finest is in Spain, where it, as well as gold, occurs in sterile ground and even in the mountains, and wherever one vein is found another is afterwards found not far away This indeed also occurs in the case of almost every metal, and accounts it seems for the word 'metals' used by the Greeks^b It is a remarkable fact that the shafts initiated by Hannibal 221-219 B.C. all over the Spanish provinces are still in existence, they are named from the persons who discovered them, one of these mines, now called after Baebelo, furnished Hannibal with 300 pounds weight of silver a day, the tunnelling having been carried a mile and a half into the mountain Along the whole of this distance watermen are posted who all night and day in spells measured by lanterns bale out the water and make a stream The vein of silver nearest the surface is called 'the raw' In early days the excavations used to stop when they found alum, and no further search was made, but recently the discovery of a vein of copper under the alum has removed all limit to men's hopes The exhalations^c from silver mines are dangerous to all animals, but specially to dogs Gold and silver are more beautiful the softer they are It surprises most people that silver traces black lines

XXXII There is also a mineral found in these Quicksilver

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

liquoris aeterni aargentum vivum appellatur vene-
num rerum omnium est perumpitque vasa perman-
nans tabe dira omnia ei innatint praeter aurum,
id unum ad se trahit ideo et optime purgat, ceteras
eius sordes expuens crebro iactatu fictilibus in vasis
ita vitis¹ electis² ut et ipsum ab auro discedat, in
pelles subactas effunditur, per quas sudoris vice
100 defluens purum relinquit aurum ergo et cum aera
inauentur, sublitum bistrate pertinacissime retinet,
verum pallore detegit simplices aut praetenues biate-
teas quapropter id furtum quaerentes ovi liquore
candido usum eum adulterare, mox et hydrargy-
rum,³ de quo dicemus suo loco et alias aargentum
vivum non largum inventu est

101 XXXIII In isdem aargentis metallis invenitur, ut
proprie dicatur,⁴ spumae lapis candidae nitentisque,
non tamen traluentis, stimi appellant, alii stibi,
alii alabastum, aliqui laibasim⁵ duo eius genera,
mas ac femina magis probant feminam, horridior

¹ *V*it ita vitis, ita ut nis (huis), avitis ita autem nis *Silling*
alutis *Brotier* vestibus *Hardoun*

² electis *Ian* tectis *B* *V*it abiectis, innectis, inventis

³ hydrargyrum *L* *Ponsinet de Sury* hydrargo

⁴ dicatur *Mayhoff* dicatus *B*¹ dictus *B*² dicemus rell
(dicamus cd *Pai* 6801)

⁵ larbasim *B* turbasim rell larbasim *Hermolaus Barbarus*
coll Dioec V 99

veins of silver which contains a humour, in round drops, that is always liquid, and is called quicksilver. It acts as a poison on everything, and breaks vessels by penetrating them with malignant corruption. All substances float on its surface except gold, which is the only thing that it attracts to itself, consequently it is also excellent for refining gold, as if it is briskly shaken in earthen vessels it rejects all the impurities contained in it. When these blemishes have been thus expelled, to separate the quicksilver itself from the gold it is poured out on to hides that have been well dressed, and exudes through them like a kind of perspiration and leaves the gold behind in a pure state. Consequently when also things made of copper are gilded, a coat of quicksilver is applied underneath the gold leaf and keeps it in its place with the greatest tenacity but if the gold-leaf is put on in one layer or is very thin it reveals the quicksilver by its pale colour. Consequently persons intending this fraud adulterated the quicksilver used for this purpose with white of egg, and later they falsified also hydrargyrum or artificial quicksilver, which we shall speak about in its proper place. Otherwise quicksilver is not to be found in any large quantity.

XXXIII In the same mines as silver there is found Antimony what is properly to be described as a stone, made of white and shiny but not transparent fioth, several names are used for it, stibi, stibi, alabastrium and sometimes larbasis. It is of two kinds, male and female ^a. The female variety is preferred, the male

^a Probably stibnite (sulphide of antimony), and native metallic antimony respectively (K. C. Bailey, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects*, I, p. 213).

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

est mas scabriorque et minus ponderosus minusque
radians et harenosior, femina contra nitet, friabilis
fissurisque, non globis, dehiscens

- 102 XXXIV Vis eius adstringere ac refrigerare,
principalis autem circa oculos, namque ideo etiam
plerique platyophthalmon id appellavere, quoniam in
calliblephaüs mulierum dilatet oculos, et fluctiones
inhibet oculorum exulcerationesque facina eius ac
tunis cummi admixto sistit et sanguinem e cerebro
profluentem, efficacissime¹ et contra recentia volneia
et contra veteres canum moisus inspeisa farina et
contra ambusta igni cum adipे ac spuma aigenti
103 cerussaque et cera uriti autem offis bubuli fini
circumlitum in clibanis, dein restinguitur mulierum
lacte teriturque in mortuis admixta aqua pluvia,
ac subinde turbidum transfunditur in aereum vas
emundatum nitro faex eius intellegitur plumbosissima,
quae subsedit in mortario, abiciturque² dein
vas, in quod turbida transfusa sint, opertum linteo
per noctem relinquitur et postero die quidquid
104 innatet effunditur spongeave tollitur quod ibi sub-
sedet, flos intellegitur ac linteo interposito in sole
siccatur, non ut perirescat, iterumque in mortario
teritur et in pastillos dividitur ante omnia autem

¹ efficacissime *B* efficaci rell (efficacior cd Par 6801)

² abiciturque *Celen* abigiturque aut abicitur

being more uneven and rougher to the touch, as well as lighter in weight, not so brilliant, and more gritty, the female on the contrary is bright and friable and splits in thin layers and not in globules

XXXIV Antimony has astringent and cooling properties, but it is chiefly used for the eyes, since this is why even a majority of people have given it a Greek name meaning 'wide-eye,' because in beauty-washes for women's eyebrows it has the property of magnifying the eyes. Made into a powder with powdered frankincense and an admixture of gum it checks fluxes and ulcerations of the eyes. It also arrests discharge of blood from the brain, and is also extremely effective with a sprinkling of its powder against new wounds and old dog-bites and against burns if mixed with fat and litharge of silver, or lead acetate^a and wax. It is prepared by being smeared round with lumps of ox dung and burnt in ovens, and then cooled down with women's milk and mixed with rain water and pounded in mortars. And next the turbid part is poured off into a copper vessel after being purified with soda. The lees are recognized by being full of lead, and they settle to the bottom of the mortars and are thrown away. Then the vessel into which the turbid part was poured off is covered with a cloth and left for a night, and the next day anything floating on the surface is poured off or removed with a sponge. The sediment on the bottom is considered the choicest part and is covered with a linen cloth and put to dry in the sun but not allowed to become very dry, and is ground up a second time in the mortar and divided into small tablets. But it is above all essential to limit the amount of heat

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

uendī modus necessarius est, ne plumbum fiat
quidam non fimo utuntur coquentes, sed adipe
aliū tūtū in aqua tripliū līnteo saccant¹ faecemque
abiciunt idque, quod defluxit,² transfundunt, quid-
quid subsidat colligentes emplastūs quoque et
collyius miscent

105 XXXV Scoriām in argento Graeci vocant hel-
cysma vis eius adstringere et refrigerare corpora,
ac i mediao est³ addita⁴ emplastris ut molybdaena, de
qua dicemus in plumbo, cicatiūibus maxime glutin-
andis, et contra tenesmos dysenteriasque infusa
clysteūbus cum myiteo oleo addunt et in medica-
menta, quae vocant lipaias, ad excrescentia ulcerum
aut ex attūtu facta aut in capite manantia

106 Fit in isdem metallis et quae vocatur spuma argen-
ti genera eius tria optima quam chrysitum vocant,
sequens quam argyritum, tertia quam molybditum
et plerumque omnes hi colores in isdem tubulis in-
veniuntur probatissima est Attica, proxima His-
paniensis chrysitus ex vena ipsa fit, argyritis ex
argento, molybditis e plumbi ipsius⁵ fusura—quae
107 fit Puteolis—et inde habet nomen omnis autem fit
excocta sua materia ex superiore catino defluens in
inferiorem et ex eo sublata vericulis ferreis atque in

¹ Vl siccant

² effluxit B

³ ac remedio est Mayhoff qui et acribus aut viridibus aut
a Graecis coni hac de re Detlef sen quare his J Muller
acre dies B¹ hac ie B² cm rell

⁴ addita Mayhoff additur

⁵ potius coni Mayhoff

^a Reilly into metallic antimony, mistaken for lead

^b I e débris scraped off

applied to it, so that it may not be turned into lead ^a. Some people do not employ dung in boiling it but fat. Others pound it in water and strain it through three thicknesses of linen cloth and throw away the dregs, and pour off the liquor that comes through, collecting all the deposit at the bottom, and this they use as an ingredient in plasters and eye-washes.

XXXV The slag in silver is called by the Greeks *Slag of silver* the 'draw-off' ^b. It has an astringent and cooling effect on the body, and like sulphuret of lead, of ^{xxxiv} which we shall speak in dealing with lead, it has ^{173 44} healing properties as an ingredient in plasters, being extremely effective in causing wounds to close-up, and when injected by means of syringes, together with myrtle-oil, as a remedy for straining of the bowels and dysentery. It is also used as an ingredient in the remedies called emollient plasters used for proud flesh of gathering sores, or sores caused by chafing or running ulcers on the head.

The same mines also produce the mineral called *Litharge* scum ^c of silver. Of this there are three kinds, with Greek names meaning respectively golden, silvery and leaden, and for the most part all these colours are found in the same ingots. The Attic kind is the most approved, next the Spanish. The golden scum is obtained from the actual vein, the silvery from silver, and the leaden from smelting the actual lead, which is done at Pozzuoli, from which place it takes its name ^d. Each kind however is made by heating its raw material till it melts, when it flows down from an upper vessel into a lower one and is lifted out of that with small iron spits and then twisted round on

^c Litharge, lead monoxide

^d Argyritis Puteolana

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

ipsa flamma convoluta vericulo, ut sit modici pondereus est autem, ut ex nomine intellegi potest, fervescens et futuiae¹ matiae spuma distat et scoria quo potest spuma a faece distingue alterum, purgantis se matiae, alterum purgatae vitium est
 108 quidam duo genera faciunt spumae, quae vocant scirerytida² et peumenen,³ tertium molybdenam in plumbo dicendam spuma, ut sit utilis, item coquiti confactis tubulis ad magnitudinem anulorum⁴ ita accensa follibus ad separandos cubones cincemque abluiti aceto aut vino simulque restinguuntur quodsi sit argyritis, ut candor ei detur, magnitudine fabae conficta in fictili coqui iubetur ex aqua addito in linteolis tunico et hordeo novis, donec
 109 ea purgentur postea vi diebus terunt in mortuis, ter die abluentis aqua frigida et, cum desinant,⁵ calida, addito sale fossili in libiam spumae obolo novissimo die dein condunt in plumbeo vase alii cum faba candida et tisana cocunt siccantque sole, alii in lana candida cum faba, donec lanam non denigret tunc salem fossilem adiciunt subinde aqua mutata siccantque diebus xl calidissimis aestatis nec non in ventre suillo in aqua coquunt exemptamque

¹ et foturae *B*² e fusura coni *Mayhoff* del Hardouin

² scirerytida *B* varia rell lythrida *Brotier* sclererytida *Detlefsen*

³ reumenen *Detlefsen*

⁴ avellanarum *Caesarius* coll *Diosc* V 102 nucularum coni *Ian*

⁵ desinant *cd Par* 6801 desinat *rell dies* desinat *Mayhoff* denigrare desinat *C F W Muller*

^a Native lead sulphide

a spit in the actual flame, in order to make it of moderate weight. Really, as may be inferred from its name, it is the scum of a substance in a state of fusion and in process of production. It differs from dross in the way in which the scum of a liquid may differ from the lees, one being a blemish excreted by the material when purifying itself and the other a blemish in the metal when purified. Some people make two classes of scum of silver which they call 'scueytis' and 'peumene,' and a third, leaden scum,^a which we shall speak of under the head of xxxiv¹⁷³ lead. To make the scum available for use it is *Lead sulphide* boiled a second time after the ingots have been broken up into pieces the size of finger-rings. Thus after being heated up with the bellows to separate the cinders and ashes from it it is washed with vinegar or wine, and cooled down in the process. In the case of the silvery kind, in order to give it brilliancy the instructions are to break it into pieces the size of a bean and boil it in water in an earthenware pot with the addition of wheat and barley wrapped in new linen cloths, until the silvery scum is cleaned of impurities. Afterwards they grind it in mortars for six days, three times daily washing it with cold water and, when they have ceased operations, with hot, and adding salt from a salt-mine, an obol weight to a pound of scum. Then on the last day they store it in a lead vessel. Some boil it with white beans and pearl-barley and dry it in the sun, and others boil it with beans in a white woollen cloth till it ceases to discolour the wool, and then they add salt from a salt-mine, changing the water from time to time, and put it out to dry on the 40 hottest days of summer. They also boil it in a sow's

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

nitro fūciant et ut supia terunt in mortains cum cile
 sunt qui non coquant, sed cum salc terant et adiecti
 110 aqua abluant usus eius ad collyria et cuti¹ mulie-
 rum cicatricum foeditates tollendas maculasque,
 abluendum² capillum vis autem siccue, molliae,
 refugerae, temperate pungare, explore ulcerar,
 tumores lenire, talibusque³ emplastis additui et
 lipauis supra dictis ignes etiam sacios tollit cum iutri
 myrtisque et aceto, item perniones cum myritis ei
 cera⁴

111 XXXVI In aargentariis metallis invenitur minium
 quoque, et nunc inter pigmenta magnae auctoritatis
 et quondam apud Romanos non solum maximae, sed
 etiam sacrae enumerat auctores Veiius, quibus
 credere necesse sit Iovis ipsius simulaci faciem diebus
 festis minio inlini solitam triumphantium que corpora,
 112 sic Camillum triumphasse, hac religione etiamnum
 addi in unguenta cenae triumphalis et a censoribus
 in primis Iovem miniandum locari cuius rei causam
 equidem minor, quamquam et hodie id experti constat
 Aethiopum populis totosque eo tingui proceres, hunc

¹ cuti Mayhoff (*qui et cutem coni*) litum *B¹* situm *B²*
vanna rell

² *Vl* et (*aut et ad*) abluendum ad alendum *Ian*

³ albisque *Frohner*

⁴ cera *eld* *veit* cetera

^a Sulphide of mercury ('cinnabar') is meant here. True red lead was properly called *minium secundarium*. See § 119.

paunch in water, and when they take it out rub it with soda, and grind it in mortars with salt as above. In some cases people do not boil it but grind it up with salt and then add water and rinse it. It is used to make an eye-wash and for women's skins to remove ugly scabs and spots and as a hair-wash. Its effect is to dry, to soften, to cool, to act as a gentle purge, to fill up cavities caused by ulcers, and to soften tumours, it is used as an ingredient in plasters serving these purposes, and for the emollient plasters mentioned above. Mixed with ^{§ 105} rue and myrtle and vinegar, it also removes erysipelas, and likewise chilblains if mixed with myrtle and wax.

XXXVI *Minium* or cinnabar ^a also is found in *Cinnabar* silver mines, it is of great importance among pigments at the present day, and also in old times it not only had the highest importance but even sacred associations among the Romans. Verrius gives a list of writers of unquestionable authority who say that on holidays it was the custom for the face of the statue of Jupiter himself to be coloured with cinnabar as well as the bodies of persons going in a triumphal procession, and that Camillus was so coloured in his triumph, and that under the same ritual it was usual even in their day for cinnabar to be added to the unguents used at a banquet in honour of a triumph, and that one of the first duties of the Censors was to place a contract for painting Jupiter with cinnabar. For my own part I am quite at a loss to explain the origin of this custom, although at the present day the pigment in question is known to be in demand among the nations of Ethiopia whose chiefs colour themselves all over with it, and

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

ibi deorum simulacris colorem esse quapropter
diligentius persequemur omnia de eo

- 113 XXXVII Theophrastus ~~LXXX~~ annis ante Praxibulum Atheniensium magistratum—quod tempus exit in urbis nostrae CCCXLVIII¹ annum—tradit inventum minium a Callia Atheniense initio sperante aurum excoqui posse haenae rubenti in metallis aigenti, hanc fuisse originem eius, reperi autem iam tum² in Hispania, sed duum et haenosum, item apud Colchos in iupe quadam inaccessa, ex qua iaculantes decuterent, id esse adulterum, optimum vero supra Ephesum Cilbianis agris harena cocci color em habente, hanc teri, dein lavari faeciam et quod subsidat iteum lavari, differentiam artis esse, quod alii minium faciant prima lotura, apud alios id esse dilutius, sequentis autem loturae optimum
- 114 XXXVIII Auctoritatem colori fuisse non minor iam enim Trojanis temporibus rubrica in honore erat Homero teste, qui naves ea commendat, alias circa pigmenta picturasque rarus milton vocant Graeci
- 116 miniumque cinnabarium unde natus error Indiae³ cinnabaris nomine⁴ sic enim appellant illi saniem draconis elisi elephantorum morientium pondere

¹ CCCXLVIII *Hermolaus Barbarus* CCCXXVIII *Casaubon CCCLVIII*

² nativum *coni Hardouin*

³ Indiae *K C Bailey* indicio *B* indicio *rell*

⁴ cinnabaris nomine *cd Par* 6801 nominum (*om* cinnabaris) *B* nomine (*om* cinnabaris) *rell* inscrita nominum *Mayhoff*

^a *De Lap* 59, 58

^b 315 BC

^c This was really an exudation (still called ‘dragon’s blood’) from species of the oriental plant *Dracontia* or *Ptero carpus*

with whom the statues of the gods are of that colour
On that account we will investigate all the facts
concerning it more carefully

XXXVII Theophrastus ^a states that cinnabar was discovered by an Athenian named Callias, 90 years before the archonship ^b of Praxibulus at 405 B.C. Athens—this date works out at the 349th year of our city, and that Callias was hoping that gold could by firing be extracted from the red sand found in silver mines, and that this was the origin of cinnabar, although cinnabar was being found even at that time in Spain, but a hard and sandy kind, and likewise in the country of the Colchi on a certain inaccessible rock from which the natives dislodged it by shooting javelins, but that this is cinnabar of an impure quality whereas the best is found in the Cilician territory beyond Ephesus, where the sand is of the scarlet colour of the kermes-insect, and that this is ground up and then the powder is washed and the sediment that sinks to the bottom is washed again, and that there is a difference of skill, some people producing cinnabar at the first washing while with others this is rather weak and the product of the second washing is the best

XXXVIII I am not surprised that the colour had an important rank, for as far back as Trojan times ^c II 63 red ochre was highly valued, as evidenced by Homer, who speaks of it as a distinguished colour for ships, although otherwise he rarely alludes to colours and paintings. The Greek name for it is ‘miltos,’ and they call *minium* ‘cinnabar.’ This gave rise to a mistake owing to the name ‘Indian cinnabar,’ for that is the name the Greeks give to the gore ^c of a snake crushed by the weight of dying elephants,

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

permixto utriusque animalis sanguine, ut diximus,
neque est aliis colos, qui in pictura proprie sangu-
inem reddat illa cinnabaris antidotis medicamen-
tisque utilissima est it, Hercules, medici, quia
cinnabarium vocant, utuntur hoc minio, quod¹
venenum esse paulo mox docebimus

117 XXXIX Cinnabari veteres quae etiam nunc
vocant monochromata pingebant pinxit et
Ephesio minio, quod derelictum est, quia cuiatio
magni operis erat piaeterea utrumque nimis acie
existimabatur ideo transiere ad iubicam et Sino-
pidem, de quibus suis locis dicam cinnabaris
adulterati sanguine caprina aut sorbis tuis pre-
mium sinceriae nummi L

118 XL Iuba minium nasci et in Carmania tradit,
Timagenes² et in Aethiopia, sed neutio ex loco
invehitur ad nos nec fere aliunde quam ex Hispania,
celeberrimo Sisaponensi regione in Baetica minio
metallo vectigalibus populi Romani, nullius rei dili-
gentiore custodia non licet ibi perficere id exco-
quique³, Romam adfertur⁴ vena signata, ad bina
milia fere pondo annua, Romae autem lavatur, in
vendendo pretio statuta⁵ lege, ne modum excederet
HS ixx in libras sed adulteratur multis modis, unde
119 praeda societati namque est alterum genus omni-

¹ cinnabarum minium v, u h quod coni Warmington

² Timaeus coni Pintranus

³ excoquique add (excoqui quae B excoquique cl Levl
loss) excoquaque coni Mayhoff

⁴ ill refertur, deferuntur, deferuntur perferuntur ell vett

⁵ ill statuto

when the blood of each animal gets mixed together, as we have said, and there is no other colour that properly represents blood in a picture. That kind of cinnabar is extremely useful for antidotes and medicaments. But our doctors, I swear, because they give the name of cinnabar to *minium* also, employ this *minium*, which as we shall soon show is a poison § 124

XXXIX In old times 'dragon's-blood' cinnabar was used for painting the pictures that are still called monochromes, 'in one colour'. Cinnabar from Ephesus was also used for painting, but this has been given up because pictures in that colour were a great amount of trouble to preserve. Moreover both colours were thought excessively harsh, consequently painters have gone over to red-ochre and Sinopic ochre, pigments about which I shall speak in the proper places. Cinnabar is adulterated with goat's blood or with crushed service-berries. The price of genuine cinnabar is 50 sesterces a pound.

XL Juba reports that cinnabar is also produced in Carmania, and Timagenes says it is found in Ethiopia as well, but from neither place is it exported to us, and from hardly any other either except from Spain, the most famous cinnabar mine for the revenues of the Roman nation being that of Almaden in the Baetic region, no item being more carefully safeguarded. It is not allowed to smelt and refine the ore upon the spot, but as much as about 2000 lbs per annum is delivered to Rome in the crude state under seal, and is purified at Rome, the price in selling it being fixed by law established at 70 sesterces a pound, to prevent its going beyond limit. But it is adulterated in many ways, which is a source of plunder for the company. For there is in fact

*Red lead
cinnabar*

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

bus fere argentarius itemque plumbarius metallis,
 quod fit exusto lapide veris permixto, non ex illo,
 cuius vomicam argentum vivum appellavimus—is
 enim et ipse in argentum *vivum*¹ excoquitur—, sed
 ex aliis simul iepertis steriles etrum plumbi de-
 prehenduntur² solo colore nec nisi in fornacibus
 rubescentes exustique tunduntur in fuinam hoc
 est secundarium minium perquam paucis notum,
 120 multum infia naturales illas harenas hoc ergo
 adulteratii minium in officinis sociorum, et vilius³
 Syrico quoniam modo Syricum fit suo loco doce-
 bimus, sublini autem Syrico minium compendiatio
 demonstrat et alio modo pingentium furto oppor-
 tunum est, plenos subinde abluentium penicillos
 121 sidit autem in aqua constatque fuiantibus sincero
 cocci mitor esse debet, secundarii autem splendor in
 parietibus sentit⁴ robiginem,⁵ quamquam hoc iob-
 bigo quaedam metalli est Sisaponensibus autem
 miniarius sua vena harenae sine aigento excoquitur
 auti modo, probatur autio candente, fucatum enim

¹ *vivum* *adl* *K C Bailey*

² *de micae prehenduntur* *B¹* *micae deprehenduntur* *B^o*
deprehenduntur

³ *et vilius Mayhoff* *et ubivis Ian* *et vivis B* *item rell*

⁴ *V l* *sentire*

⁵ *robiginem K C Bailey* *plumbaginem Mayhoff* *uliginem*
Caesarius *imaginem*

^a Probably the true red lead (prepared from cerusite, natural lead carbonate)

^b Of sulphide of mercury See § 111, note, § 118

^c This is not true

another kind ^a of *minum*, found in almost all silver-mines, and likewise lead-mines, which is made by smelting a stone that has veins of metal running through it, and not obtained from the stone the round drops of which we have designated quick-^{§ 99} silver—for that stone also if fired yields quicksilver—but from other stones found at the same time These have no quicksilver and are detected only by their leaden colour, and only when they turn red in the furnaces, and after being thoroughly smelted they are pulverized by hammering This gives a *minum* of second rate quality, which is known to very few people, and is much inferior to the natural sands we have mentioned It is this then that is used for adulterating real *minum* in the factories of the company, but a cheaper kind is adulterated with Syrian the preparation of the latter will be described in the proper place, but the process of giving cinnabar and red-lead a treatment of Syrian is detected by calculation when the one is weighed against the other Cinnabar also, with red-lead, affords an opportunity for pilfering by painters in another way, if they wash out their brushes immediately when full of paint, the cinnabar or the red-lead settles at the bottom of the water and stays there for the pilferers Pure cinnabar ought to have the brilliant colour of the scarlet kermes-insect, while the shine of that of the second quality when used on wall-paintings is affected by rust, although this is itself a sort of metallic rust In the cinnabar mines ^b of Almaden the vein of sand is pure, without silver It is melted like gold ^c, it is assayed by means of gold made red hot, as if it has been adulterated it turns black, but if genuine

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

nigescit, sinceum retinet colorem invenio et calce adulteria, ac simili ratione ferri carentis lamna, si
 122 non sit aurum, depiehendi inlito solis atque lunae contactus inimicus medium, ut panete siccato circa Punica cum oleo liquefacta cindens saetis inducati iterumque admotis gallae carbonibus inuratur ad sudorem usque, postea candelis subigatur ac deinde linteis puris, sicut et marmora nitescunt qui minium in officinis poliunt, faciem laxis vesicis inligant, ne in respirando pernicialem pulverem trahant et tamen super¹ illas spectent minium in voluminum quoque scriptura usurpatum clarioresque litteras vel in muro² vel in marmore, etiam in sepulchris, facit

123 XLI Ex secundario invenit vita et hydrargyrum in vicem aegenti vivi, paulo ante dilatum fit autem duobus modis aereis mortaliis pistillisque trito minio ex aceto aut patinis fictilibus impositum ferrea concha, calice coopertum, aegilla superinlita, dein sub patinis accenso³ folibus continuis igni atque ita calici⁴ sudore detuso, qui fit aegenti colore et aquae liquore idem guttis dividit facilis et lubrico umore

¹ super *Mayhoff coll. Diosc* V 109 ut per old

² muro *Detlefsen* aere *Hubner* auro *cdd*

³ accenso quidam ap *Dalecamp* accensum

⁴ vel calicis

^a This seems to be the meaning here, *secundario* would not refer to the minium of the second quality (see above, § 111, note, § 119), for hydrargyrum was made from the sulphide of mercury of § 111

it keeps its colour I find that it is also adulterated with lime, and this can be detected in a similar way with a sheet of red-hot iron if there is no gold available A surface painted with cinnabar is damaged by the action of sunlight and moonlight The way to prevent this is to let the wall dry and then to coat it with Punic wax melted with olive oil and applied by means of brushes of bristles while it is still hot, and then this wax coating must be again heated by bringing near to it burning charcoal made of plant-galls, till it exudes drops of perspiration, and afterwards smoothed down with waxed rollers and then with clean linen cloths, in the way in which marble is given a shine Persons polishing cinnabar in workshops tie on their face loose masks of bladder-skin, to prevent their inhaling the dust in breathing, which is very pernicious, and nevertheless to allow them to see over the bladders Cinnabar is also used in writing books, and it makes a brighter lettering for inscriptions on a wall or on marble even in tombs

XLI Of secondary importance^a is the fact that experience has also discovered a way of getting hydraqyrum or artificial quicksilver as a substitute for real quicksilver, we postponed the description of this a little previously It is made in two ways, §§ 64, by pounding red-lead in vinegar with a copper pestle in a copper mortar, or it is put in an iron shell in flat earthenware pans, and covered with a convex lid smeared on with clay, and then a fire is lit under the pans and kept constantly burning by means of bellows, and so the surface moisture (with the colour of silver and the fluidity of water) which forms on the lid is wiped off it This moisture is also easily divided into drops and rains down freely with slippery

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 124 compluere¹ quod cum venenum esse conveniat,
 omnia, quae de minio in medicinae usu traduntur,
 temeraria arbitror, p̄aetequam fortassis inlito
 capiti ventrive sanguinem sisti, dum ne qua penetret
 in viscera ac volnus attingat alteri utendum non
 equidem censem
- 125 XLII Hydriargyro āgentum inauratur solum nunc
 prope, cum et in aerea simili modo duci debeat
 sed eadem fraus, quae in omni parte vitae ingenio-
 sissima est, viuorem excogitavit matemam, ut docui-
 mus
- 126 XLIII Auri argentique mentionem comitatui
 lapis, quem coticulam appellant, quondam non solitus
 inveni nisi in flumine Tmolo, ut auctor est Theo-
 phrastus, nunc vero passim alii Herachum, alii
 Lydium vocant sunt autem modici, quateinas
 uncias longitudinis binasque latitudinis non ex-
 cedentes quod a sole fuit in us, melius quam quod
 a teria his coticulis periti cum e vena ut lima
 rapuerunt experimento ramentum,² protinus dicunt
 quantum auri sit in ea, quantum āgenti vel aeris,
 scripulari differentia, mirabil ratione non fallente
- 127 XLIV Āgenti duae differentiae vatillis ferreis
 carentibus ramento imposito, quod candidum pe-

¹ compluere *B* confluere *rell*

² experimento ramentum *L C Purser* experimentum

^a Both kinds of minium—the sulphide of mercury and the lead carbonate—are poisonous

fluidity And as cinnabar and red-lead^a are admitted to be poisons, all the current instructions on the subject of its employment for medicinal purposes are in my opinion decidedly risky, except perhaps that its application to the head or stomach arrests haemorrhage, provided that it does not find access to the vital organs or come in contact with a lesion In any other way for my own part I would not recommend its employment

XLII At the present time silver is almost the only substance that is gilded with artificial quicksilver, though really a similar method ought to be used in coating copper But the same fraudulence which is so extremely ingenious in every department of life has devised an inferior material, as we have § 100 shown

XLIII With the mention of gold and silver goes a description of the stone called the touch stone, formerly according to Theophrastus^b not usually found anywhere but in the river Tmolus, but now found in various places Some people call it Herachian stone and others Lydian The pieces are of a moderate size, not exceeding four inches in length and two in breadth The part of these pieces that has been exposed to the sun is better than the part on the ground When experts using this touchstone, like a file, have taken with it a scraping from an ore, they can say at once how much gold it contains and how much silver or copper, to a difference of a scruple, their marvellous calculation not leading them astray

XLIV There are two points in which silver shows a variation A shaving that remains perfectly white when placed on white-hot iron shovels is passed

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

maneat, probatur proxima bonitas rufo, nulla nigro
sed experimento quoque fiaus intervenit servatis
in urina virorum vatillis inficitur ita lamentum obitei
dum vivitu. candoremque mentitur est aliquod
experimentum politi et in halitu hominis, si sudet
protinus nubemque discutiat

128 XLV Lamnas duci,¹ speciem² fieri³ non nisi ex
optimo posse creditum⁴ fuerit id integrum, sed id
quoque iam fiaude coriumpit

Fst⁵ natura mira imagines reddendi, quod reper-
cussio aere iraque in oculos regesto fieri convenit
eadem vi sic⁶ in speculi usu polita crassitudine plu-
lumque propulsa dilatatur in immensum magnitudo
imaginum tantum interest, epercussum illum ex-
cipiat an respuat quin etiam pocula ita figurantur
expulsis⁷ intus crebris ceu speculis ut vel uno intuente
totidem populus imaginum fiat excogitantur et
monstrifica, ut in templo Zymnae dicata id evenit
figura materiae pluimum refeit concava sint et
poculi modo an paiae Thiecidicae, media depressa
an elata, transversa an obliqua, supina an infesta,

¹ duci et cd Par Lat 6801 duci rell duci in Mayhoff

² speciem B specula rell

³ fieri cdd vitri Mayhoff

⁴ credimus B

⁵ est Mayhoff sed

⁶ vi sic Mayhoff vis Silling visi B vi cd Par 6801

nisi rell

⁷ l exsculptis

^a When it is concave

^b When it is convex or plane

^c I.e. the major axis of an oval mirror, or of a convex or
concave oval centre of a special kind of mirror

as good, while if it turns red it is of the next quality, and if black it has no value at all. But fraud has found its way even into this test, if the shovels are kept in men's urine the silver shaving is stained by it during the process of being burnt, and counterfeits whiteness. There is also one way of testing polished silver in a man's breath—if it at once forms surface moisture and dissipates the vapour.

XLV It has been believed that only the best silver is capable of being beaten out into plates and producing an image. This was formerly a sound test, but nowadays this too is spoiled by fraud.

Still, the property of reflecting images is marvellous, it is generally agreed that it takes place owing to the repercussion of the air which is thrown back into the eyes. In a similar way, owing to the same force, in employing a mirror if the thickness of the metal has been polished and beaten out into a slightly concave shape the size of the objects reflected is enormously magnified such a difference does it make whether the surface welcomes^a the air in question or flings it back^b. Moreover bowls can be made of such a shape, with a number of looking-glasses so to speak beaten outward inside them, that if only a single person is looking into them a crowd of images is formed of the same number as the facets in question. Ingenuity even devises vessels that do conjuring tricks, for instance those deposited as votive offerings in the temple at Smyrna—this is brought about by the shape of the material, and it makes a very great difference whether the vessels are concave and shaped like a bowl or convex like a Thracian shield, whether their centre is recessed or projecting, whether the oval^c is horizontal or oblique,

*Reflecting qualities a
uses of
silver
Mirrors*

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

qualitate excipientis figurae torqueante venientes um-
 130 bias, neque enim est aliud illa imago quam digesta
 claritate materiae accipientis umbia¹ atque ut
 omnia de speculis peragantur in hoc loco, optima igit
 maiores fuerant Brundisina, stagno et aere mixtis
 praelata sunt argentea, prius fecit Pasiteles Magni
 Pompei aetate nuper credi coeptum certiorum
 imaginem reddi auro opposito vitris²

- 131 XLVI Tinguit Aegyptus argentum, ut in vasis
 Anubim suum spectet, pingitque, non caelat, argen-
 tum unde transit materia et ad triumphales
 statuas, mihiumque, crescit pretium fulgoris excae-
 cati id autem fit hoc modo, miscentur argento
 tertiae aenis Cypru tenuissimi, quod coronarium
 vocant, et sulpuris vivi quantum argenti, conflantur
 ita in fictili circumlito argilla, modus coquendi,
 donec se ipsa opercula aperiant nigrescat et ovi
 induati luteo, ut tamen aceto et cieta deteratur
- 132 Miscurit denario triumvir Antonius ferrum, miscent
 aera falsae monetae,³ alii et⁴ ponderi⁵ subtrahunt,
 cum sit iustum LXXXIII e libris signari igitur ahs

¹ umbra Ian. umbram

- vitris K C Bailey vitris aversis coni D'Arcty Thompson
 aversis

³ Vl falsa moneta

⁴ alii et Mayhoff alii e cd Par 6801 alia aut aliae aut
 alii (om et) rell

⁵ ponderi Urlichs pondere aut ponderae aut pondera
 alii de pondere coni Mayhoff

^a Cf § 94 and note

^b vitris is K C Bailey's conjecture. The sentence cannot
 refer to silver mirrors. Roman glass mirrors, backed usually
 with lead, have been found, but seem to belong to a later time
 than Pliny.

^c This was employed to make imitation gold crowns for use
 on the stage

laid flat or placed upright, as the quality of the shape receiving the shadows twists them as they come for in fact the image in a mirror is merely the shadow arranged by the brilliance of the material receiving it. And in order to complete the whole subject of mirrors in this place, the best of those known in old days were those made at Brindisi of a mixture of stagnum ^a and copper. Silver mirrors have come to be preferred, they were first made by Pasiteles in the period of Pompey the Great. But it has ^{c 106-4} recently come to be believed that a more reliable ^{b c} reflection is given by applying a layer of gold to the back of glass ^b.

XLVI The people of Egypt stain their silver so as to see portraits of their god Anubis in their vessels, and they do not engrave but paint their silver. The use of that material thence passed over even to our triumphal statues, and, wonderful to relate, its price rises with the dimming of its brilliance. The method adopted is as follows: with the silver is mixed one third its amount of the very fine Cyprus copper called chaplet-copper ^c and the same amount of live sulphur as of silver, and then they are melted in an earthenware vessel smeared round with potter's clay, the heating goes on till the lids of the vessels open of their own accord. Silver is also turned black by means of the yolk of a hard-boiled egg, although the black can be rubbed off with vinegar and chalk.

The triumvir Antony alloyed the silver denarius with iron, and forgers put an alloy of copper in silver coins, while others also reduce the weight, the proper coinage being 84 denarii from a pound of silver. Consequently a method was devised of

Debased and forged silver coinage

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

facta denarios probare, tam iucunda plebci lege, ut
~ Mario Gratidiano vicatim tota¹ statuas dicaveint
numque, in hac artium sola vitia discuntur et falsi
denaru spectatur exemplar pluriusque veris denariis
adulterinus emitur

- 133 XLVII Non erat apud antiquos numeius ultia
centum milia, itaque et hodie multiplicantur haec,
ut decies centena aut saepius dicantur faenus hoc
fecit nummusque percussus, et sic quoque aes alienum
etiamnum appellatur postea Divites cognominati,
dummodo notum sit eum, qui primus hoc cognomen
134 acceperit, decoxisse creditoribus suis ex eadem
gente M Crassus negabat locupletem esse nisi qui
reditu annuo legionem tueri posset in agris HS
[MM] possedit Quiritium post Sullam divitissimus, nec
fuit satis nisi totum Parthorum usurpasset aurum,
atque ut memoriam quidem opum occupaverint—
iuvat enim insectari inexplebilem istam habendi
cupidinem— multos postea cognovimus servitute
liberatos opulentiores, pariterque tis Claudi principatu
paulo ante Callistum, Pallantem, Narcissum
135 atque ut hi omittantur, tamquam adhuc ieiunum

¹ totas B, cd Par 6801

* Crassus the so called ‘triumvir’ was defeated by the Parthians at Carrhae (Haran) in 53 B.C., and assassinated when treating for peace. His head was cut off and sent to the Parthian king, who caused melted gold to be poured into its mouth, saying ‘Sate thyself now with the metal for which when alive thou wert so greedy’ (Dio Cassius XL 27)

assaying the denarius, under a law that was so popular that the common people unanimously distinct by district voted statues to Marius ^{Before 8 BC} Gratidianus And it is a remarkable thing that in this alone among arts spurious methods are objects of study, and a sample of a forged denarius is carefully examined and the adulterated coin is bought for more than genuine ones

XLVII In old days there was no number standing for more than 100,000, and accordingly even to-day we reckon by multiples of that number, using the expression times 'ten times one hundred thousand' or larger multiples This was due to usury and to the introduction of coined money, and also on the same lines we still speak of money owed as 'somebody else's copper' Afterwards 'Dives,' 'Rich,' became a family surname, though it must be stated that the man who first received this name ran through his creditors' money and went bankrupt Afterwards Marcus Crassus, who was a member of the Rich family, used to say that nobody was a wealthy man except one who could maintain a legion of troops on his yearly income He owned landed property worth two hundred million sesterces, being the richest Roman citizen after Sulla Noi was he satisfied without getting possession of the whole of the Parthians' gold ^a as well, and although it is true he was the first to win lasting reputation for wealth—it is a pleasant task to stigmatize insatiable covetousness of that sort—we have known subsequently of many liberated slaves who have been wealthier, and three at the same time not long before our own days in the period of the emperors Claudius, namely Callistus, ^{AD 41-5} Pallas and Narcissus And to omit these persons,

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

potiantur, C Asinio Gallo C Marcio Censorino cos
 ^ a d vi Kal Febr C Caecilius C l Isidorus testa-
 mento suo edixit, quamvis multa bello civili perdidis-
 set, tamen relinquere servorum ¹ IIII cxvi, iuga boum
 IIII dc, reliqui pecoris ~~CCCLVII~~, in numerato hs [DC],
 136 funerali se iussit hs [XI] ² congeant excedentes
 numerum opes, quota tamen portio erunt Ptolem ei,
 quem Varro tradit Pompeio res gerente circa Iudae-
 am octona milia equitum sua pecunia toleravisse,
 mille convivas totidem aureis potioris, mutantem
 ea vasa cum ferculis, saginasse ¹ quota vero ille ipse
 137 —neque enim de regibus loqui—portio fuerit
 Pythis Bithyni, qui platanum auream vitemque
 nobiles illas Dario regi donavit, Xevis copias, hoc est
 [VII] LXXXVIII³ hominum, exceptit epulo, stipendum
 quinque mensum frumentumque pollicitus, ut e
 quinque liberis in dilectu senectuti suae unus saltem
 concederetur ¹ hunc quoque ipsum aliquis comparet
 Cioeso regi ¹ quae, malum, amentia est id in vita
 cupere, quod aut et servis contigerit aut ne in regibus
 quidem invenient finem ¹
 138 XLVIII Populus R stipem spargere coepit Sp
 Postumio Q Marcio cos, tanta abundantia pecuniae
 erat, ut eam conferret L Scipioni, ex qua is ludos

¹ se servorum coni Mayhoff

² [XII] Ian, [X] Detlefsen XI milibus cd Par 6801 XI
 yell (xi B)

³ [VII] Ian LXXXVIII Silling varia cdd

^a I e still alive and ruling the Empire, so that it would be
 dangerous to speak of them

^b Probably Auletes, King of Egypt 80-51 b c

^c See Herodotus VII 27, 38

as if they were still in sovereign power,^a there is Gaius Caecilius Isidorus, the freedman of Gaius Caecilius who in the consulship of Gaius Asinius Gallus and Gaius Marcius Censorinus ^{8 BC} executed a will dated January 27 in which he declared that in spite of heavy losses in the civil war he nevertheless left 4116 slaves, 3600 pairs of oven, 257,000 head of other cattle, and 60 million sesterces in cash, and he gave instructions for 1,100,000 to be spent on his funeral. But let them amass uncountable riches, yet what fraction will they be of the riches of the Ptolemy^b who is recorded by Varro, at the time when Pompey was campaigning in the regions ^{63 BC} adjoining Judaea, to have maintained 8000 horse at his own charges, to have given a lavish feast to a thousand guests, with 1,000 gold goblets, which were changed at every course, and then what fraction would his own estate have been (for I am not speaking about kings) of that of the Bithynian Pythes,^c who presented the famous gold plane tree and vine to King Darius, and gave a banquet to the forces of Xerxes, ^{480 BC} that is 788,000 men, with a promise of five months' pay and corn on condition that one at least of his five children when drawn for service should be left to cheer his old age? Also let anyone compare even Pythes himself with King Croesus! What madness it is (damn it all!), to covet a thing in our lifetime that has either fallen to the lot even of slaves or has reached no limit even in the desires of Kings!

XLVIII The Roman nation began lavishing donations in the consulship of Spurius Postumius ^{186 BC} and Quintus Marcius so abundant was money at that date that they contributed funds for Lucius Scipio to defray the cost of games which he cele-

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

fecit nam quod Agrippae Menenio sextantes aeris
in funus contulit, honoris id necessitatisque propter
paupertatem Agrippae, non largitionis esse duxerim¹

139 XLIX Vasa ex argento mire inconstantia humani
ingenii variat nullum genus officinae diu probando
nunc Furniana,² nunc Clodiana, nunc Gratiana—
etenim tabernas mensis adoptamus—, nunc ana-
glypta asperitatemque exciso³ circa liniarum picturis
140 quaerimus, iam vero et mensas repositorius imponi-
mus ad sustinenda opsonia, interradimus alia, ut
quam plurimum lima perdididerit vasa coquaria ex
argento fieri Calvus orator quinitat, at nos cairucas
argento caelare invenimus, nostraque aetate Poppaea
coniunx Neronis principis soleas delicioribus iu-
mentis suis ex auro quoque induere iussit

141 L Triginta duo libras argenti Africanus sequens
heredi reliquit idemque, cum de Poenis triumpharet,
m̄ccclxx pondo transtulit hoc argenti tota Ca-
thago habuit illa terrarum aemula, quot mensarum
postea apparatu victa¹ Numantia quidem deleta
idem Africanus in triumpho militibus X vii dedit o

¹ Vl duxerim ² Vl Furniana

³ Vl excisa

^a In performance of a vow that he made in the war with Antiochus III, King of Syria, victoriously concluded in 190 b c

^b These various kinds of plate are named after the silver smiths who introduced them For the last cf Martial IV 39 Argenti genus omne comparasti Nec desunt tibi vera Gratiana

^c Scipio Aemilianus

brated ^a. As for the national contribution of one-sixth of an *as* per head for the funeral of Menenius^{491 B.C.} Agrippa, I should consider this as a mark of respect and also a measure rendered necessary by Agrippa's poverty, and not a matter of lavish generosity

XLIX Fashions in silver plate undergo marvellous variations owing to the vagaries of human taste, no kind of workmanship remaining long in favour. At one time Furnian plate is in demand, at another Clodian, at another Giatian ^b—for we make even the factories feel at home at our tables—at another time the demand is for embossed plate and rough surfaces, where the metal has been cut out along the painted lines of the designs, while now we even fit removable shelves on our sideboards to carry the viands, and other pieces of plate we decorate with filigree, so that the file may have wasted as much silver as possible. The orator Calvus complain-^{82-c 47 B.C.} ingly cries that cooking-pots are made of silver, but it is we who invented decorating carriages with chased silver, and it was in our day that the emperor Nero's wife Poppea had the idea of even having her favourite mules shod with gold

L The younger Africanus^c left his heir thirty-^{129 B.C.} two pounds weight of silver, and the same person paraded 4370 pounds of silver in his triumphal procession after the conquest of Carthage. This^{146 B.C.} was the amount of silver owned by the whole of Carthage, Rome's rival for the empire of the world, yet subsequently beaten in the show of plate on how many dinner-tables! Indeed after totally destroying Numantia the same Africanus at his triumph gave a^{133-2 B.C.} largess of seven denarii a head to his troops—warriors not unworthy of such a general who were

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

viros illo imperatore dignos, quibus hoc satis fuit!
 frater eius Allobrogicus primus omnium pondo mille
 habuit, at Diusus Livius in tribunatu plebei \bar{x}^1
 142 nam proptei x^2 pondo notatum a censorebus trium-
 phalem senem fabulosum iam videtur, item Catum
 Aelum, cum legati Aetolorum in consulatu pianden-
 tem in fictilibus adissent, missa ab iis vasa aigentea
 non accepisse neque aliud habuisse argenti ad supre-
 mum vitae diem quam duo pocula, quae L Paulus
 143 sacer ei ob virtutem devicto Peiseo iegre donavisset
 invenimus legatos Carthaginiensium divisse nullos
 hominum inter se beneignius viveire quam Romanos
 eodem enim argento apud omnes cemitavisse ipsos
 at, Hercules, Pompeium Paulinum, Arlatensis
 equitis Romani filium paternaque gente pellitum,
 $\bar{x}ii$ pondo argenti habuisse apud exercitum ferocissi-
 144 mis gentibus oppositum scimus, (LI) lectos vero iam
 pridem mulierum totos operi argento, pridem 3 et
 triclinia quibus argentum addidisse primus traditur
 Caenilius Pollio eques Romanus, non ut operaret aut
 Delaca specie faceret, sed Punicana, eadem et

¹ \bar{x} coni Mayhoff xi milia cd Par 6801 \bar{x} rell (* B)

² \bar{x} Freinsheim coll Liv Ep XIV, Val Max II 9 4, etc
quinque

³ pridem coni Mayhoff quaedam cdd (quidem cd Par Lat 6797)

^a Q Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, consul in 121, and in reality a nephew of Aemilianus

^b P Cornelius Rufinus

^c Fabius and Q Aemilius Cf § 153

satisfied with that amount! His brother Allobrogicus ^a was the first person who ever owned 121 B.C. 1000 lbs weight of silver, whereas Livius Drusus when tribune of the people had 10,000 lbs For 91 B.C. that an old warrior, ^b honoured with a triumphal procession, incurred the notice of the censors ^c for 279 B.C. possessing ten pounds weight of silver—that nowadays seems legendary, and the same as to Catus Aelius's not accepting the silver plate presented to him by the envoys from Aetolia who during his consulship 198 B.C. had found him eating his lunch off earthenware, and as to his never till the last day of his life having owned any other silver but the two bowls given to him by his wife's father Lucius Paulus in recognition of his valour at the time when King Peiseus was 168 B.C. conquered We read that the Carthaginian ambassadors declared that no race of mankind lived on more amicable terms with one another than the Romans, inasmuch as in a round of banquets they had found the same service of plate in use at every house! But, good heavens, Pompeius Paulinus the son of a Knight of Rome at Ailes and descended on his father's side from a tribe that went about clad in skins, to our knowledge had 12,000 lbs weight of silver plate with him when on service with an army confronted by tribes of the greatest ferocity, (LI) while we know that ladies' bedsteads have for a long time now been entirely covered with silver plating, and so for long have banqueting-couches also It is recorded that Carvilius Pollio, Knight of Rome, was the first person who had silver put on these latter, though not so as to plate them all over or make them to the Delos pattern, but in the Carthaginian style In this latter style he also had bedsteads

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

aureos fecit, nec multo post a^gentei Deliacos imitati sunt quae omnia expravit bellum civile Sullanum
 145 LII Paulo enim ante haec factae sunt lances e centenis libris a^genti, quas tunc cuper cl numeio fuisse Romae constat multosque ob eas proscriptos dolo concupiscentium eiubescant annales, qui bellum civile illud talibus virtus inputaveie, nostria aetas fortior fuit Claudii principatu seivus eius Drusillanus¹ nomine Rotundus, dispensator Hispaniae citerioris, quingenariam lancem habuit, cui fabricandae² officina prius exaedificata fuerat, et comites eius octo ad ccl libras, quaeso, ut quam multi eas conseivi eius
 146 infeirent, aut quibus cenantibus³ Cornelius Nepos tradit ante Sulla^e victoriā duo tantum trichinia Romae fuisse a^gentea, repositorius argentum addi sua memoria coeptum Fenestella, qui obit novissimo Tiberii Caesaris principatu, ait et testudinatum in usum venisse, ante se autem paulo lignea, rotunda, solida nec multo maiora quam mensas fuisse, se quidem puero quadrata et compacta aut acere operta aut citro coepisse, mox additum argentum in

¹ Vl Drusilianus

² Vl cum fabricando quam fabricando Detlefsen

^a By Sulla in 82 B C

^b Fenestella died in A D 21, Tiberius in A D 37

made of gold, and not long afterwards silver bedsteads were made, in imitation of those of Delos.
All this extravagance however was expiated by the ^{83-2 BC} civil war of Sulla

LII In fact it was shortly before this period that ^{Other silver furniture} silver dishes were made weighing 1 hundred pounds, and it is well-known that there were at that date over 150 of those at Rome, and that many people were sentenced to outlawry ^a because of them, by the intrigues of people who coveted them History which has held vices such as these to be responsible for that civil war may blush with shame, but our generation has gone one better Under the Emperor Claudius his slave Drusillanus, who bore ^{AD 41-54} the name of Rotundus, the Emperor's steward of Nearer Spain, possessed a silver dish weighing 500 lbs, for the manufacture of which a workshop had first been specially built, and eight others of 250 lbs went with it as side-dishes, so that how many of his fellow-slaves, I ask, were to bring them in or who were to dine off them? Cornelius Nepos records that before the victory won by Sulla there were ^{82 BC} only two silver dinner-couches at Rome, and that silver began to be used for decorating sideboards within his own recollection And Fenestella who died towards the end of the principate of Tiberius ^b says that tortoiseshell sideboards also came into fashion at that time, but a little before his day they had been solid round structures of wood, and not much larger than tables, but that even in his boyhood they began to be made square and of planks morticed together and veneered either with maple or citrus wood, while later silver was laid on at the corners and along the lines marking the joins, and

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

angulos lineaſque peri commiſſuras, tympana veio ſe iuvene appellata, tum & stateis et lances, quas antiqui magides vocaveiant

- 147 LIII Nec copia argenti tantum furit vita, sed valdius paene manipretus, idque iam priudem, ut ignoscamus nobis delphinos quinis milibus sestertiū¹ in libras emptos C Gracchus habuit, L veio Crassus orator duos scyphos Mentois artificis manu caelatos hs ē,² confessus tamen est numquam iis uti propter verecundiam ausum scimus³ eundem hs
 148 vi in singulas libias vasa empta habuisse Asia prium devicta luxuriam misit in Italiam, siquidem L Scipio in triumpho trianstulit argenti caelati pondo mille et⁴ cccc⁵ et vasorum aureorum pondo MD anno conditae urbis DLV at eadem Asia donata⁶ multo etiam gravius adflxit mores, inutiliorque victoria illa
 149 hereditas Attalo rege mortuo fuit tum enim haec emendi Romae in actionibus regni verecundia exempta est urbis anno DCXXII, mediis LVII annis erudita civitate amare etiam, non solum admirari, opulentiam externam, immenso et Achaiae victoriae momento ad impellendos mores, quae et ipsa in hoc intervallo anno

¹ sestertium Hardouin sestertius
 — Urlich C

³ scimus Mayhoff scitum coni Ian constat ed Basil sicut

⁴ mille et Mayhoff milia aut M

⁵ cccc B cccl rell

⁶ domita cd Par 6801 domata Gelen

^a I.e Asia Minor and Syria, peace having been concluded with King Antiochus in 189 B.C.

^b Attalus III, King of Pergamum 138–133 B.C., bequeathed his kingdom to Rome Part of it became the province Asia

^c I.e the destruction of Corinth by L Mummius, 146 B.C.

when he was a young man they were called 'diūms,' and then also the dishes for which the old name had been magides came to be called basins from their resemblance to the scales of a balance

LIII Yet it is not only for quantities of silver that there is such a rage among mankind but there is an almost more violent passion for works of fine handicraft, and this goes back a long time, so that we of to-day may excuse ourselves from blame Gaius Gracchus had some figures of dolphins for 155-121 which he paid 5000 sesterces per pound, while the orator Lucius Crassus had a pair of chased goblets, 140-91 B.C. the work of the artist Mento^a, that cost 100,000, yet admittedly he was too ashamed even to use them It is known to us that he likewise owned some vessels that he bought for 6000 sesterces per pound It was the conquest of Asia^a that first introduced luxury into Italy, inasmuch as Lucius Scipio carried in procession at his triumph 1400 lbs of chased silverware and vessels of gold weighing 1500 lbs this was in the 565th year from the foundation of the city of Rome But receiving Asia also as a gift 139 B.C. dealt a much more serious blow to our morals, and the bequest of it that came to us on the death of King Attalus^b was more disadvantageous than the victory of Scipio For on that occasion all scruples entirely disappeared in regard to buying these articles at the auctions of the king's effects at Rome—the date was the 622nd year of the city, and in the 132 B.C. interval of 57 years our community had learnt not merely to admire but also to covet foreign opulence, an impetus having also been given to manners by the enormous shock of the conquest of Achaia,^c that victory itself also having during this interval

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 150 urbis DCVIII parta signa et tabulas pictas invenit ne
 quid deesset, pariter quoque¹ luxuria nata est et
 Cathago sublata, ita congiuentibus fatis, ut et
 liberet amplecti vitia et liceret petiere et digna-
 tionem hinc aliqui veterum C Maius post victo-
 riā Cimbricam cantharis potasse Liberi patris ex-
 emplo traditur, ille aīator Aipinas et manipularis
 imperatori
- 151 LIV Argenti usum in statuas primum divi Augusti
 temporum adulatione transisse falso existimatū
 iam enim triumpho Magni Pompei reperiimus trans-
 latam Pharnacis, qui primum regnavit in Ponto,
 argenteam statuam, item Mithridatis Eupatoris et
 152 curius aureos argenteosque argentum succedit
 aliquando et auro luxu feminaū plebis compedes
 sibi facientium, quas induere aureas mos tūtior vetet
 vidimus et ipsi Arellium Fuscum motum equestri
 ordine ob insignem calumniam, cum celebritatem²
 adsectaretur³ adulescentium scholae, argenteos anulos
 habentem et quid haec attinet colligere, cum
 capuli militum ebore etiam fastidito caelentur argen-
 to, vaginae catellis, baltea lammis crepitent, iam vero

¹ quoque *Mayhoff* que

² celebritatem *B* celebritate *ell*

³ adsectaretur *Warmington* adsectarentur *cdd* expec-
 tarentur *edd vett* assectationem *Hermolaus Barbarus*

^a He became king c 190 BC

^b Mithridates VI, King of Pontus, finally quelled in Pompey's
 campaigns

of time introduced the statues and pictures won in the 608th year of the city. That nothing might be lacking, luxury came into being simultaneously, with the downfall of Carthage, a fatal coincidence that gave us at one and the same time a taste for the vices and an opportunity for indulging in them. Some of the older generation also sought to gain esteem from these sources. It is recorded that Gaius Marius after his victory over the Cimbrians drank from Bacchic tankards, in imitation of Father Liber—he, the ploughman of Aipino who rose to the position of general from the ranks!^{146 B.C.}

LIV The view is held that the extension of silver ^{statues, rings, etc.} the use of silver to statues was made in the case of statues of his late lamented Majesty Augustus, owing to the sycophancy of the period, but this is erroneous. We find that previously a silver statue of Pharnaces the First,^a King of Pontus, was carried in the triumphal procession of Pompey the Great, ^{61 B.C.} as well as one of Mithridates Eupator,^b and also chariots of gold and silver were used. Likewise silver has at some periods even supplanted gold, female luxury among the plebeians having its shoe buckles made of silver, as wearing gold buckles would be prohibited by the more common fashion. We have ourselves seen Arellius Fuscus (who was expelled from the Equestrian order on a singularly grave charge) wearing silver rings when he sought to acquire celebrity for his school for youths. But what is the point of collecting these instances, when our soldiers' sword hilts are made of chased silver, even ivory not being thought good enough, and when their scabbards jingle with little silver chains and their belts with silver tabs, nay now-a-days our

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

paedagogia in transitu virilitatis custodiantur a
argento, feminae laventur est nisi a^{re}gentea solia fasti
diant, eademque materna et cibis et p^{ro}bris serviat?

153 videret haec Fabius et st^{ri}atas a^{re}gento mulierum
balineas ita, ut vestigio locus non sit, cum viuis
lavantium¹ Fabius, qui bellicos imperatores plus
quam pateram et salinum habere ex a^{re}gento vetabat,
videret hinc dona fortium fieri aut in haec frangit²
heu mores, Fabrici nos pudet!

154 LV Mirum auro caelando neminem inclarusse,
argento multos maxime tamen laudatus est Men
tor, de quo supra diximus quattuor paria ab eo
omnino³ facta sunt, ac iam nullum extare dicitur
Ephesiae Dianae templi ac⁴ Capitolini incendus

155 Varro se et aereum signum⁵ eius habuisse scribit
proximi ab eo in admiratione Acragas et Boethus et
Mys fuere existant omnium opera hodie in insula
Rhodiorum, Boethi apud Lindiam Mineivam, Acra
gantis in templo Libei patris in ipsa Rhodo Cen
tauros Bacchisque caelati scyphi, Myos in eadem
aede Silenos et Cupidines Acragantis et venatio in
156 scyphis magnam famam habuit post hos celebratus
est Calamis, et Antipatro qui⁶ Satyrum in phiala

¹ vasorum Thiersch

² ac Warmington aut (iacet cd Par 6801)

³ sinum Haret

⁴ Antipatro qui Mayhaff Antipater quoque qui Uelichs
Antipater quoq B A quinque rell (quique cd Par 6801)

^a C Fabricius Luscinus, a man who held high offices c 285-
275, but died a poor man

^b See § 142

^c In 356 B C

^d In 83 B C

BOOK XXXIII LIV 152-LV 156

schools for pages just at the point of adolescence wear silver badges as a safeguard, and women use silver to wash in and scorn sitting-baths not made of silver, and the same substance does service both for our viands and for our baser needs? If only Fabius ^a could see these displays of luxury—women's bathrooms with floors of silver, leaving nowhere to set your feet—and the women bathing in company with men—if only Fabius, who forbade ^b gallant generals to possess more than a dish and a saltcellar of silver, could see how nowadays the rewards of valour are made from the utensils of luxury, or else are broken up to make them! Alas for our present manners—Fabius makes us blush!

LV It is a remarkable fact that the art of chasing gold has not brought celebrity to anyone, whereas persons celebrated for chasing silver are numerous. The most famous however is Mentor of whom we spoke above. Four pairs of goblets were all that he ever made, but it is said that none of them now survive, owing to the burning of the Temple of Artemis of Ephesus ^c and of the Capitol ^d. Vallo says in his writings that he also possessed a bronze statue by this sculptor. Next to Mentor the artists most admired were Acragas, Boethus and Mys. Works by all of these exist at the present day in the island of Rhodes—one by Boethus in the temple of Athena at Lindus, some goblets engraved with Centaurs and Bacchants by Acragas in the temple of Father Liber or Dionysus in Rhodes itself, goblets with Sileni and Cupids by Mys in the same temple. Hunting scenes by Acragas on goblets also had a great reputation. After these in celebrity is Calamis, and Diodorus who was said to have placed

Famous examples artistic work in silver

^{\$ 147 and VII 127}

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

gravatum somno conlocavisse verius quam caelasse
 dictus est Diodorus,¹ Stratonicus mox Cyzicenus,
 Tauriscus, item Aiston et Eunicus Mitylenaei laud-
 antui et Hecatæus et cœci Pompei Magni aetatem
 Pasiteles, Posidonius Ephesus, Hedy^s Thracides,²
 qui pioelia armatosque caelavit, Zopyrus, qui Areo-
 pagitas et iudicium Orestis in duobus scyphis ^{MSS} ~~XII~~³
 aestimatis fuit et Pytheas, cuius II unciae X
 venieunt Ulves et Diomedes erant in phialae em-
 blamate Palladium subiipientes fecit idem et cocos
 magirisia appellatos parvolis potioris et e quibus ne
 exemplaria quidem liceret exprimere, tam opportu-
 na iniuria subtilitas erat habuit et Teucer
 crustarius famam, subitoque ars haec ita exolevit, ut
 sola iam vestustate censeatur usuque attritis cae-
 laturis si nec⁴ figura discerni possit auctoritas constet
 158 Argentum medicatis aquis inficitur atque adflatu
 salso, sic et⁵ in mediterraneis Hispaniae

LVI In argenti et auri metallis nascuntur etiam-
 num pigmenta sil et caeruleum sil proprio limus
 est optimum ex eo quod Atticum vocatur, pretium
 in pondo libras X II, proximum marmorosum di-

¹ lac Mayhoff qui Diodorus suppl. coni et Antipatro
 poetæ Satyrum caelasse dictus <Diodorus> Stratonicus

² Hedy^s, Thracides Furtwangler hedystrachides B haedi
 stadiques, iedisthracides aut alia rell Hedystratides Sillig
 Telesarchides coni Dilthey

³ XII Gelen [XII] B XII rell

⁴ si nec Urlichs si ne B ne rell

⁵ sic et L Poinsinet de Sivry sicut

^a Who probably wrote an epigram (*Anth. Plan* 248)
 stating that Diodorus 'put to sleep' the satyr. The MSS
 of Pliny make Anupater the engraver, while in the Anthology
 the epigram is attributed to Plato the younger

^b At Athens for the murder of his mother, according to the
 story

in a condition of heavy sleep rather than engraved on a bowl a Slumbering Satyr for Antipater.^a Next praise is awarded to Stratonicus of Cyzicus, Tauriscus, also Ariston and Eunicus of Mitylene, and Hecataeus, and, around the period of Pompey^{c 106-48} the Great, Pasiteles, Posidonius of Ephesus, Hedys,^{b c} Thracides who engraved battle scenes and men in armour, and Zopyrus who engraved the Athenian Council of Aegopagus and the Trial of Orestes^b on two goblets valued at 12,000 sesterces. There was also Pytheas, one of whose works sold at the price of 10,000 denarii for two ounces. It consisted of an embossed base of a bowl representing Odysseus and Diomede in the act of stealing the Palladium. The same artist also carved some very small drinking cups in the shape of cooks known as 'The Chefs in Miniature,' which it was not allowed even to reproduce by casts, so liable to damage was the fineness of the work. Also Teucer the artist in embossed work attained celebrity, and all of a sudden this art so declined that it is now only valued in old specimens, and authority attaches to engravings worn with use even if the very design is invisible.

Silver becomes tarnished by contact with water from springs containing minerals and by the salt breezes, as happens also even in the interior regions of Spain.^c

LVI In gold and silver mines also are formed the pigments yellow ochre and blue. Yellow ochre^d is strictly speaking a slime. The best kind comes from what is called Attic slime, its price is two denarii a pound. The next best is marbled ochre,

^a The sentence is probably misplaced

^b Various oxides and hydroxides of iron

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- midio Attici pretio tertium genus est pressum,
 159 quod ali Scyricum vocant, ^ax insula Scylo, iam et ex
 Achaia, quo utuntur ad picturae umbras, pretium in
 libras h^s bini, dupondius vero detiactis quod lucidum
 vocant, e Gallia veniens hoc autem et Attico ad
 lumina utuntur, ad abacos non nisi marmoreoso,
 quoniam maior in eo resistit amaritudini calcis
 effoditur et ad xx ab urbe lapidem in montibus,
 postea uirutur pressum appellantibus qui adulterant
 sed esse falsum exustumque, amaritudine apparet et
 quoniam resolutum in pulverem est
- 160 Sile pingere instituere primi Polygnotus et Micon,
 Attico dumtaxat secuta aetas hoc ad lumina usa
 est, ad umbras autem Scyrico et Lydio Lydium
 Sardibus emebatur, quod nunc obmutuit ¹
- 161 LVII Caeruleum harena est, huius genera tria
 fuere antiquitus Aegyptium maxime ² probatum,³
 Scythicum mox ⁴ dilutum facile et, cum teritur, in
 quattuor colores mutatur, candidorem nigremve
 et ciassiorem tenuoremve, praefertur huic etiam
 num Cyprium accessit his Puteolanum et Hispaniense,
 harena ibi confici coepta tinguitur autem
 omne et in sua coquitur herba bibitque sucum
 reliqua conjectura eadem quae chrysocollae

¹ Vll ommutuit, omittunt

² Vl quod maxime

³ Vl probatum

⁴ mox Mayhoff (*coni et umore*) hoc

^a Azurite, a basic copper carbonate

which costs half the price of Attic. The third kind is dark ochre, which other people call Scyric ochre, as it comes from the island of Scyros, and nowadays also from Achaia, which they use for the shadows of a painting, price two sesterces a pound, while that called clear ochre, coming from Gaul, costs two asses less. This and the Attic kind they use for painting different kinds of light, but only marbled ochre for squared panel designs, because the marble in it resists the acridity of the lime. This ochre is also dug up in the mountains 20 miles from Rome. It is afterwards burnt, and by some people it is adulterated and passed off as dark ochre, but the fact that it is not genuine and has been burnt is shown by its acridity and by its crumbling into dust.

The custom of using yellow ochre for painting was first introduced by Polygnotus and Micon, but they only used the kind from Attica. The following period employed this for representing lights but ochre from Scyros and Lydia for shadows. Lydian ochre used to be sold at Saidis, but now it has quite gone out.

LVII The blue pigment^a is a sand. In old days *Azurite* there were three varieties the Egyptian is thought most highly of, next the Scythian mixes easily with water, and changes into four colours when ground, lighter or darker and coarser or finer, to this blue the Cyprian is now preferred. To these were added the Pozzuoli blue, and the Spanish blue, when blue sand-deposits began to be worked in those places. Every kind however undergoes a dyeing process, being boiled with a special plant and absorbing its juice, but the remainder of the process of manufacture is the same as with gold-solder.

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

162 Ex caeruleo fit quod vocatur lomentum, perficitur
 id lavando terendoque hoc est caeruleo candidius
 pretia eius X x¹ in libras, caerulei X viii usus in
 creta, calcis impatiens nuper accessit et Vestori-
 rianum, ab auctore appellatum fit ex Aegypti
 levissima parte, pretium eius in libras X xi idem
 et Puteolani usus, praeterque ad fenestras, cyanon²
 163 vocant non pridem adportari et Indicum coeptum
 est, cuius pretium X vii ratio in pictura ad incisuras,
 hoc est umbrias dividendas ab lumine est et vilissi-
 mum³ genus lomenti, quod⁴ tintum vocant, quinis
 assibus aestimatum

Caerulei sinceri experimentum in carbone ut flagi et,
 fiaus viola arida decocta in aqua sucoque per linteum
 expresso in cretam Eretiam vis in medicina ut
 purget ulceria, itaque et emplastris adiciunt, item
 164 causticis tenetur autem difficilime sil in medendo
 leniter mordet adstringitque et explet ulceram
 uritur in fictilibus, ut prosit

Pretia rerum, quae usquam posuimus, non ignoramus
 alia alii locis esse et omnibus paene mutari annis,
 prout navigatione constiterint aut ut quisque merca-
 tus sit aut aliquis praevalens manceps annonam

¹ §§ 162-163 numeri varie traduntur

² cyanon Broter ex coni Durandi cydon B V ll cyllon,
 cylonon, cynolon

³ V ll utilissimum, subtilissimum

⁴ ill quondam quod dant edd vett quidam Heimolaus
 Parbar is

From blue is made the substance called blue wash, which is produced by washing and grinding it. Blue wash is of a pale colour than blue, and it costs 10 denarii per pound, while blue costs 8 denarii. Blue is used on a surface of clay, as it will not stand lime. A recent addition has been Vestorian blue, called after the man Vestorius who invented it, it is made from the finest part of Egyptian blue, and costs 11 denarii per pound. Pozzuoli blue is employed in the same way, and also near windows^a, it is called cyanos. Not long ago Indian blue or *Indigo* began to be imported, its price being 7 denarii, painters use it for dividing-lines, that is, for separating shadows from light. There is also a blue wash of a very inferior kind, called ground blue, valued at 5 asses.

The test of genuine Indian blue is that when laid on burning coal it should blaze, it is adulterated by boiling dried violets in water and staining the liquor through linen on to Eretian earth^b. Its use as a medicament is to clean out ulcers, consequently it is employed as an ingredient in plasters, and also in cauteries, but it is extremely difficult to pound up. Yellow ochre used as a drug has a gently mordant and astringent effect, and fills up ulcers. To make it beneficial it is burnt in earthenware vessels.

We are not unaware that the prices of articles which we have stated at various points differ in different places and alter nearly every year, according to the shipping costs or the terms on which a particular merchant has bought them, or as some dealer dominating the market may whip up the

^a I.e. it does not lose its colour in the light

^b See p. 283, note k

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

flagellet, non oblitū Demetrium a tota Seplasia
Neronis principatu accusatum apud consules, poni
tamen necessarium fuit quae pleiumque erant Romae,
ut exprimeretur auctoritas ierum

^a A district in the city of Capua occupied by druggists and perfumers and sellers of pigments

selling price, we have not forgotten that, under the emperor Nero, Demetrius was prosecuted before the Consuls by the entire Sepplasia ^a. Nevertheless I have found it necessary to state the prices usual at Rome, in order to give an idea of a standard value of commodities.

BOOK XXXIV

LIBER XXXIV

I Proxime dicantur aeis metalla, cui et in usu proximum est pretium, immo vero unde argentum ac paene etiam ante aurum Corinthio, stipis quoque auctoritas, ut dirimus hinc aeria militum, tribuni aerii et aerarium, obaerati, aerie diutius docuimus quamdiu populus Romanus aere tantum signato usus esset et alia re¹ vetustas aequalem urbi auctoritatem eius declarat, a rege Numa collegio tertio aerarium fabrum instituto

2 II Vena quo dictum est modo foditur ignique perficitur fit et ex lapide aeraso, quem vocant cadmean, celebri trans maria et quondam in Campania, nunc et in Bergomatium agro extrema parte Italiae, ferunt nuper etiam in Germania provincia repetitum fit et ex alio lapide, quem chalcitum appellant, in

¹ alia re Mayhoff (*qui et alio coni*) alta coni Ian alia

^a The word *aes* usually means a prepared alloy of copper and tin that is, bronze, it also included brass (alloy of copper and zinc) Much ancient *aes* contained lead Pure copper was properly called *aes Cyprium* Note that native copper ore or metallic copper is not common in the Old World, but the ancients discovered that it could be produced artificially by heating the much more plentiful oxides, sulphides, silicates, and carbonates of copper

^b The others were the College of Priests and the College of Augurs

^c Apparently mineral calamine and smithsonite = silicate and carbonate of zinc, cf § 100

BOOK XXXIV

I Let our next subject be ores, etc., of copper *base metal* and bronze ^a the metals which in point of utility have the next value, in fact Corinthian bronze is valued before silver and almost even before gold, ^{Bronze and copper} and bronze is also the standard of payments in money as we have said hence *aes* is embodied in the terms denoting the pay of soldiers, the treasury ^{43, 1^o8} paymasters and the public treasury, persons held in debt, and soldiers whose pay is stopped We have pointed out for what a long time the Roman nation used no coinage except bronze, and by another fact antiquity shows that the importance of bronze is as old as the city—the fact that the third corporation ^b established by King Numa was ^{Trad. date 715-672 B} the Guild of Coppersmiths

II The method followed in mining deposits of copper copper and purifying the ore by firing is that which has been stated The metal is also got from a coppery stone called by a Greek name *cadmea*,^c a kind in high repute coming from overseas and also formerly found in Campania and at the present day in the territory of Bergamo on the farthest confines of Italy, and it is also reported to have been recently found in the province ^d of Germany In Cyprus, where copper was first discovered, it is also

^a Only the region of the left bank of the Rhine is meant

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

Cyprio, ubi prima aenis inventio, mox vilitas praecipua reperito in aliis terris praestantiorē maximeque aurichalcō, quod praecipuum bonitatem admissiōnemque diu optinuit nec reperiatur longo iam
 3 tempore effeta tellure proximum bonitate fuit Sallustianum in Ceutionum Alpino tractu, non longi et ipsum aevi, successitque ei Livianum in Gallia utrumque a metallorum dominis appellatum, illud ab
 4 amico divi Augusti, hoc a coniuge velocis defectus Livianum quoque, certe admodum exiguum inventum summa gloriae nunc in Marianum conversa, quod et Cordubense dicitur hoc a Livirno cad-mean maxime sorbet et aurichalcī bonitatem imitatur in sestertius dupondialisque, Cyprio suo assibus contentis et hactenus nobilitas in aeie naturali¹ se habet
 5 III Reliqua genera cura constant, quae suis locis reddentur, summa claritate ante omnia indicata quondam aes confusum auro argentoque miscebatur, et tamen ars pretiosior erat, nunc incertum est, perior haec sit an materia, minumque, cum ad infinitum operum pietia creverint, auctoritas artis extincta est

¹ naturali coni Mayhoff naturalis

^a See § 117, note

^b *Aurichalcum*, the right word being probably *orichalcum* = *ορείχαλκος*, ‘mountain copper,’ that is yellow copper ore and the brass made from it

^c Named after the great Marius (155-86 B.C.)

obtained from another stone also, called chalcitis,^a copper ore, this was however afterwards of exceptionally low value when a better copper was found in other countries, and especially gold-copper,^b which long maintained an outstanding quality and popularity, but which for a long time now has not been found, the ground being exhausted. The next in quality was the Sallustius copper, occurring in the Alpine region of Haute Savoie, though this also only lasted a short time, and after it came the Livia copper in Gaul each was named from the owners of the mines, the former from the friend of Augustus and the latter from his wife Livia copper also quickly gave out at all events it is found in very small quantity. The highest reputation has now gone to the Marius^c copper, also called Cordova copper, next to the Livia variety this kind most readily absorbs *cadmea* and reproduces the excellence of gold-copper in making sestertes and double-as pieces, the single *as* having to be content with its proper Cyprus copper. That is the extent of the high quality contained in natural bronze and copper.

III The remaining kinds are made artificially, and will be described in their proper places, the most distinguished sorts being indicated first of all. Formerly copper used to be blended with a mixture of gold and silver, and nevertheless artistry was valued more highly than the metal, but nowadays it is a doubtful point whether the workmanship or the material is worse, and it is a surprising thing that, though the prices paid for these works of art have grown beyond all limit, the importance attached to this craftsmanship of working in metals has quite disappeared. For this, which formerly used

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quaestus enim causa, ut omnia, exerceri copta est
 quae gloriae solebat—ideo etiam deorum adscripta
 operi, cum proceres gentium claritatem et hac via
 quaererent—, adeoque exolevit fundendi aeris pre-
 tiosi ratio, ut iam diu ne fortuna quidem in ea re ius
 artis habeat

6 Ex illa autem antiqua gloria Corinthium maxime
 laudatur hoc casus miscuit Corintho, cum caperetur,
 incensa, mireque circa id multorum affectatio
 furuit,¹ quippe cum tradatur non alia de causa
 Verrem, quem M Cicero damnaverat, proscriptum
 cum eo ab Antonio, quoniam² Corinthius cessurum
 se ei negavisset ac mihi maior pars eorum simulae
 eam scientiam videtur ad segregandos sese a ceteris
 magis quam intellegere aliquid ibi suptilius, et
 7 hoc paucis docebo Corinthus capta est olympiadis
 CLVIII anno tertio, nostiae urbis DCVIII, cum ante
 haec saecula³ factores nobiles esse desissent, quorum
 isti omnia signa hodie Corinthia appellant qua-
 propter ad coarguendos eos ponemus artificum
 aetates, nam urbis nostrae annos ex supra dicta
 comparatione olympiadum colligere facile erit

¹ furuit *Warmington* furit *Sillig*, Ian fuerit *cld* (fuit
cd *Par* 6801)

² quoniam *Ian* quam quoniam *coni* *Sillig* qñm *B*
 quam *rell* (quam quod *cd* *Par* 6801)

³ saeculo *quid ap Dalecamp*

^a *I e* Hephaestus or Vulcan

^b Or ‘has won praise normally due to art’

^c Corinth was destroyed by the Roman forces under
 Mummius 146 B C

BOOK XXXIV III 5-7

to be practised for the sake of glory—consequently it was even attributed to the workmanship of gods;^a and the leading men of all the nations used to seek for reputation by this method also—has now, like everything else, begun to be practised for the sake of gain, and the method of casting costly works of art in bronze has so gone out that for a long time now not even luck in this matter has had the privilege of producing art^b

Of the bronze which was renowned in early days, *Corinthian bronze* the Corinthian is the most highly praised This is a compound that was produced by accident, when Corinth was burned^c at the time of its capture, and there has been a wonderful mania among many people for possessing this metal—in fact it is recorded that Veires, whose conviction Marcus Cicero had 70 B.C. procured, was, together with Cicero, proscribed by Antony for no other reason than because he had 43 B.C. refused to give up to Antony some pieces of Corinthian ware, and to me the majority of these collectors seem only to make a pretence of being connoisseurs, so as to separate themselves from the multitude, rather than to have any exceptionally refined insight in this matter, and this I will briefly show Corinth was taken in the third year of the 158th Olympiad, which was the 608th year of our city, when for ages there had no longer been any famous artists in metalwork, yet these persons designate all the specimens of their work as Corinthian bronzes In order therefore to refute them we will state the periods to which these artists belong, of course it will be easy to turn the Olympiads into the years since the foundation of our city by referring to the two corresponding dates given 146 B.C.

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sunt ergo vasa tantum Corinthia, quae isti elegantes modo ad esculetta transferunt, modo in luceinas aut trulleos nullo munditarum dispectu¹
 8 eius aeris² tria genera candidum aigento nitore quam proxime accedens, in quo illa mixtua piae valuit, alterum, in quo auri fulva natura, tertium, in quo aequalis omnium temperies fuit piaetate haec est cuius iatio non potest reddi, quamquam hominis manu est,³ at fortuna temperatur⁴ in simulacris signisque illud suo colore pretiosum ad iocineris imaginem veigens, quod ideo hepatizon appellant, procul a Corinthio, longe tamen ante Aegineticum atque Deliacum, quae diu optinuere principatum

9 IV Antiquissima aeris gloria Delaco fuit, mercatus in Delo celebrante toto orbe, et ideo cura officinis tricliniorum pedibus fulcisque ibi prima aeris nobilitas, pervenit deinde et ad deum simulacra effigiemque hominum et animalium

10 V Proxima laus Aeginetico fuit, insula et ipsa eo,⁵ nec quod ibi gigneretur,⁶ sed officinarum temperatura, nobilitata bos aereus inde captus in foio boario est Romae hoc erit exemplar Aeginetici

¹ *V l* despectu

² eius aeris *Waddington* aeris *coni Mayhoff* eius

³ manus est *Mayhoff* manu facta *edd vett manus et B* manu sed *aut manus sed rell*

⁴ *V l* temperamentum temperatum *C F W Müller*

⁵ eo *Mayhoff* est

⁶ gigneretur *Silling* signetur *aut gignens aut gimens*

* Or 'for the neatness of the workmanship'

above The only genuine Corinthian vessels are then those which your connoisseurs sometimes convert into dishes for food and sometimes into lamps or even washing basins, without nice regard for decency " There are three kinds of this sort of bronze a white variety, coming very near to silver in brilliance, in which the alloy of silver predominates, a second kind, in which the yellow quality of gold predominates, and a third kind in which all the metals were blended in equal proportions Besides these there is another mixture the formula for which cannot be given, although it is man's handiwork, but the bronze valued in portrait statues and others for its peculiar colour, approaching the appearance of liver and consequently called by a Greek name 'hepatizon' meaning 'liverish,' is a blend produced by luck, it is far behind the Corinthian blend, yet a long way in front of the bronze of Aegina and that of Delos which long held the first rank

IV The Delian bronze was the earliest to become famous, the whole world thronging the markets in Delos, and hence the attention paid to the processes of making it It was at Delos that bronze first came into prominence as a material used for the feet and framework of dining-couches, and later it came to be employed also for images of the gods and statues of men and other living things

V The next most famous bronze was the Aeginetan bronze, and the island of Aegina itself became celebrated for it, though not because the metal copper was mined there but because of the compounding done in the workshops A bronze ox looted from Aegina stands in the cattle-market at Rome, and will serve as a specimen of Aegina bronze,

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aeris, Deliaci autem Iuppiter in Capitolio in Iovis Tonantis aede illo aere^a Myron usus est, hoc Polycletus, aequales atque condiscipuli, sic¹ remulatio et in materia fuit

VI Privatim Aegina candelabiorum superficiem
11 dumtaxat elaboavit, sicut Taientum scapos in us ergo iuncta commendatio officinarum est nec pudet tribunorum militarium salutis emere, cum ipsum nomen a candelarum lumine impositum appareat accessio candelabri talis fuit Theonis iussu praecoris Clesippus fullo gibbei et piaeterea et alio foedus aspectu, emente id Gegania his L eadem ostentante in convivio empta ludibri causa
12 nudatus atque impudentia² libidinis receptus in torum, mox in testamentum, praedives numinum vice illud candelabrum coluit et hanc Corinthius fabulam adiecit, vindicatus tamen moribus nobili sepulchro, per quod aeterna supia terras Geganiae dedecoris memoria duraret sed cum esse nulla

¹ sic *Mayhoff* sit *B*¹ sed

² impotentia *Gelen*

^a Built in 22 B C

^b Myron fl c 475 B C, Polyclitus c 435 See pp 168-171

^c I e the sockets holding the candles, the other parts being the stems and the feet

while that of Delos is seen in the Zeus or Jupiter in the temple^a of Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitol Aegina bronze was used by Myron and that from Delos by Polyclitus, who were contemporaries^b and fellow-pupils, thus there was rivalry between them even in their choice of materials

VI Aegina specialized in producing only the *chandeliers*^c upper parts of chandeliers, and similarly Taranto made only the stems, and consequently credit for manufacture is, in the matter of these articles, shared between these two localities. Nor are people ashamed to buy these at a price equal to the pay of a military tribune, although they clearly take even their name from the lighted candles they carry. At the sale of a chandelier of this sort by the instructions of the auctioneer (named Theon) selling it there was thrown in as part of the bargain the fuller Clesippus a humpback and also of a hideous appearance in other respects besides, the lot being bought by a woman named Gegania for 50,000 sesterces. This woman gave a party to show off her purchases, and for the mockery of the guests the man appeared with no clothes on, his mistress conceiving an outrageous passion for him admitted him to her bed and later gave him a place in her will. Thus becoming excessively rich he worshipped the lampstand in question as a divinity and so caused this story to be attached to Corinthian lampstands in general, though the claims of morality were vindicated by his erecting a noble tombstone to perpetuate throughout the living world for all time the memory of Gegania's shame. But although it is admitted that there are no lampstands made of

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Corinthia candelabria constet, nomen id praecipue in his celebratui, quoniam Mummi victoria Co inthum quidem diruit, sed e compluribus Achaiae oppidis simul aera dispersit

- 13 VII Pisci limna etiam ac valvas in templis ex aere factitavere invenio et a Cn Octavio, qui de Perseo rege navalem triumphum egit, factam porticum duplicem ad circum Flaminium, quae Corinthia sit appellata a capitulis aereis columnarum, Vestae quoque aedem ipsam Syiacusana superficie tegi placuisse Syiacusana sunt in Pantheo capita columnarum a M Agrippa posita quin etiam privata opulentia eo modo usurpata est Camillo inter ciuima obiecit Spurius Carvilius quaestor, ostia quod aerata haberet in domo
- 14 VIII Nam triclinia aerata abacosque et monopodia Cn Manlium Asia devicta primum invenisse triumpho suo, quem duxit anno urbis DLXVII, L Piso auctor est, Antias quidem heredes L Classi oratoris multa etiam triclinia aerata vendidisse ex aere factitavere et cortinas tripodum nomine [et]¹ Delphicas, quoniam donis² maxime Apollini Delphico dicabantur placuere et lychnuchi pensiles in delubris

¹ et Mayhoff ac B a cd Leid Voss m 1 om rell

² donis cdd pler ludis cd Poll erat B aeratae Urlichs eae Ian dono coni Warmington

Corinthian metal, yet this name specially is commonly attached to them, because although Mummius's victory destroyed Corinth, it caused the dispersal of bronzes from a number of the towns of Achaia at the same time

VII In early times the lintels and folding doors of temples as well were commonly made of bronze I find that also Gnaeus Octavius, who was granted a triumph after a sea-fight against King Perseus, constructed the double colonnade at the Flaminian circus which owing to the bronze capitals of its columns has received the name of the Corinthian portico, and that a resolution was passed that even the temple of Vesta should have its roof covered with an outer coating of Syracusan metal The capitals of the pillars in the Pantheon which were put up by Marcus Agrippa are of Syracusan metal Moreover even private opulence has been employed in similar uses one of the charges brought against Camillus by the quaestor Spurius Carvilius was that in his house he had doors covered with bronze

VIII Again, according to Lucius Piso dinner-couches and panelled sideboards and one-leg tables decorated with bronze were first introduced by Gnaeus Manlius at the triumph which he celebrated in the 567th year of the city after the conquest of Asia, and as a matter of fact Antias states that the heirs of Lucius Crassus the orator also sold a number of dinner couches decorated with bronze It was even customary for bronze to be used for making the cauldrons on tripods called Delphic cauldrons because they used to be chiefly dedicated as gifts to Apollo of Delphi, also lamp-holders were popular suspended from the ceiling in temples or with them

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aut uiborum mala ferentium modo lucentes, quale
est in templo Apollinis Palatini quod Alexandri
Magnus Thebaicum expugnatione captum in Cyme
dicaverat eidem deo

- 15 IX Transiit deinde aīs vulgo ubique ad effigies
deorum Romae simulacrum ex aere factum Cereri
primum iepetio ex peculio Sp Cassi, quem regnum
adfectantem pater ipsius interemerit transiit et a
dūs ad hominum statuas atque imagines multis
modis bitumine antiqui tinguebant eas, quo magis
mirum est placuisse auro integre hoc nescio an
Romanum fuerit inventum, certe etiam nomen non¹
16 habet vetustum² effigies hominum non solebant
expiri nisi aliqua inlustri causa perpetuitatem
merentium, primo sacrorum certaminum victoria
maximeque Olympiae, ubi omnium, qui vicissent,
statuas dicari mos erat, eorum vero, qui ter ibi
superavissent, ex membris ipsorum similitudine
17 expressa, quas iconicas vocant Athenienses nescio
an primis omnium Harmodio et Aristogitonis tyran-
nicidis publice posuerint statuas hoc actum est
eodem anno, quo et Romae reges pulsi excepta
deinde res est a toto orbe terrarum humanissima

¹ nomen non *B* romae non *rell* Romae nomen *Sillig*

² vetustum *B* vetustatem *rell*

^a Dedicated by Augustus in 27 B C

^b Probably to provide a protective polish

^c From the Greek *εἰκών, εἰκωνικός*

^d By Antenor The conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton took place in 514–513 B C A marble copy of Critius' and Nesiotes' later substitute still exists See note on pp 256–257

lights arranged to look like apples hanging on trees like the specimen in the temple ^a of Apollo of the Palatine which had been part of the booty taken by Alexander the Great at the storming of Thebes and dedicated by him to the same deity at Cyme

IX But after a time this art in all places came to be usually devoted to statues of gods I find that the first image of a god made of bronze at Rome was that dedicated to Ceres and paid for out of the property of Spurius Cassius who was put to death by his own father when trying to make himself king The practice passed over from the gods to statues and representations of human beings also, in various forms In early days people used to stain statues with bitumen,^b which makes it the more remarkable that they afterwards became fond of covering them with gold This was perhaps a Roman invention, but it certainly has a name of no long standing at Rome It was not customary to make effigies of human beings unless they deserved lasting commemoration for some distinguished reason, in the first case victory in the sacred contests and particularly those at Olympia, where it was the custom to dedicate statues of all who had won a competition, these statues, in the case of those who had been victorious there three times, were modelled as exact personal likenesses of the winners—what are called iconiae,^c portrait statues I rather believe that the first portrait statues ^d officially erected at Athens were those of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton This happened in the same year as that in which the Kings were also driven out at Rome The practice of electing statues from a most civilized sense of rivalry was afterwards

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ambitione, et in omnium municipiorum foris statuae
ornamentum esse coepere propagarique¹ memoria
hominum et honores legendi aevi basibus inscribi,
ne in sepulcris tantum legeientur mox forum et in
domibus privatis factum atque in atris honos
clientium instituit sic colere patronos

- 18 X Togatae effigies antiquitus ita dicabantur
placuere et nudae tenentes hastam ab epheborum e
gymnasius exemplaribus, quas Achilleas vocant
Graeca res nihil velare, at contra Romana ac militaris
thoraces addere Caesar quidem dictatori loricatam
sibi dicari in foro suo passus est nam Lupeicorum
habitu tam noviciae sunt quam quae nuper prodiere
paenulis induitae Mancinus eo habitu sibi statuit,
19 quo deditus fuerat notatum ab auctoribus et
L Accium poetam in Camenarium aede maxima
forma statuam sibi posuisse, cum brevis admodum
fuisset equestres utique statuae Romanam cele-
brationem habent, oīto sine dubio a Graecis exemplo
sed illi celetas tantum dicabant in sacris victores,

¹ propagarique *B* prorogarique *rell*

^a *Forum Caesaris* or *Forum Iulium* was built by Julius Caesar in the eighth region of the city, near the temple of Janus and the old forum which had become too small

^b Mancinus, consul 137 B C , in a war with the Numantines made a treaty which the senate refused to ratify, and he was handed over to the enemy though they refused to receive him He seems to have regarded this as discreditable to the senate but not to himself

taken up by the whole of the world and the custom proceeded to arise of having statues adorning the public places of all municipal towns and of perpetuating the memory of human beings and of inscribing lists of honours on the bases to be read for all time, so that such records should not be read on their tombs only. Soon after a publicity centre was established even in private houses and in our own halls the respect felt by clients inaugurated this method of doing honour to their patrons.

X In old days the statues dedicated were simply clad in the toga. Also naked figures holding spears, made from models of Greek young men from the gymnasiums—what are called figures of Achilles—became popular. The Greek practice is to leave the figure entirely nude, whereas Roman and military statuary adds a breastplate. Indeed the dictator Cæsar gave permission for a statue wearing a cuirass to be erected in his honour in his Forum^a. As for the statues in the gaib of the Luperci, they are modern innovations, just as much as the portrait-statues dressed in cloaks that have recently appeared. Mancinus^b set up a statue of himself in the dress that he had worn when surrendered to the enemy. It has been remarked by writers that the poet Lucius Accius also set up a very tall statue of himself in the shrine of the Latin Muses, although he was a very short man. Assuredly equestrian statues are popular at Rome, the fashion for them having no doubt been derived from Greece, but the Greeks used only to erect statues of winners of races on horse-back at their sacred contests, although subsequently they also erected statues of

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postea vero et qui bigis vel quadrigis vicissent,
unde et nostri cuius nati in^b his, qui triumphavissent
seum hoc, et in his non nisi a divo Augusto seiuges,
sicut^c elephanti

20 XI Non vetus et bigarum celebratio in his, qui
praetoria functi cuius vecti essent per circum,
antiquior columnarum, sicut C Maenio, qui devicerat
priscos Latinos, quibus ex foedere tertias praedae
populus Romanus praestabat, eodemque in consulatu
in suggestu nostra devictis Antiatibus fixerat anno
uibis ccccxvi, item C Duillio, qui primus navalem
triumphum egit de Poenis, quae est etiam nunc in
21 foro, item L Minucio praefecto annonae extia
portam Tigeminam unciaria stipe conlatu—nescio
an primo honore tali a populo, antea enim a senatu
erat,—praeclara res, ni frivolis coepisset initus
numque et Atti Navi statui fuit ante curiam—basis
eius conflagravit curia incensa P Clodii funere—,

¹ sicut et edd vett aut Eugenie Sellers

^a For purposes which were not religious For a dedication
of a six horsed chariot in 189 b c, cf Livy X\XVIII 35, 4

^b For the surviving inscription of the *Columna Rostrata* see
Remains of Old Latin, IV, pp 128–131

^c Famous augur under King Tarquinius Priscus (traditional dates 616–579 b c)

winners with two-horse or four-horse chariots, and this is the origin of our chariot-groups in honour of those who have celebrated a triumphal procession. But this belongs to a late date, and among those monuments it was not till the time of his late lamented Majesty Augustus that chariots with six horses occurred,^a and likewise elephants.

XI The custom of erecting memorial chariots with two horses in the case of those who held the office of praetor and had ridden round the Circus in a chariot is not an old one, that of statues on pillars is of earlier date, for instance the statue of honour of Gaius Maenius who had vanquished the Old Latins to whom the Roman nation gave by treaty a third part of the booty won from them. It was in the same consulship that the nation, after defeating the people of Antium, had fixed on the platform the beaked prows of ships taken in the victory over the people of Antium, in the 416th year of the city of Rome, and similarly the statue to Gaius Duilius, who was the first to obtain a naval triumph over the Carthaginians—this statue still stands in the forum^b—and likewise that in honour of the praefect of markets Lucius Minucius outside the Triplets Gate, defrayed by a tax of one-twelfth of an *as* per head. I rather think this was the first time that an honour of this nature came from the whole people, previously it had been bestowed by the senate—it would be a very distinguished honour had it not originated on such unimportant occasions. In fact also the statue of Attus Navius^c stood in front of the senate-house—when the senate-house was set on fire at the funeral of Publius Clodius the base of the statue was burnt

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fuit et Heimodori Ephesii in comitio, legum, quas
 decemviri scribebant, interpetis, publice dicata
 22 alia causa, alia auctoritas M Horati Coelitis statuae—
 quae durat hodieque—, cum hostes a ponte sublicio
 solus arcuisset equidem et Sibyllae iuxta iostia
 esse non miror, tres sint licet una quam Sextus
 Pacunus Taurus aed pl restituit¹, duae quas
 M Messalla prius putas putarem has et Atti Navi,
 positas aetate Tarquinii Prisci, ni regum antecedent
 23 tium essent in Capitolio, ex iis Romuli et Tatii sine
 tunica, sicut et Camilli in iostis et ante aedem
 Castorum fuit Q Marci Tremuli equestris togata,
 qui Samnites bis devicerat captaque Anagnia popu
 lum stipendio liberaverat inter antiquissimas sunt
 et Tulli Cloeli, L Rosci, Sp Nauti,² C Fulcini in
 iostis, a Fidenatibus in legatione interfectorum
 24 hoc a re p tribui solebat iniuria caesis, sicut aliis et
 P Iunio, Ti Coruncanio, qui ab Teuta Illyriorum
 regina interficti erant non omittendum videtur,
 quod annales adnotavere, tripedaneas us statuas in

¹ Vl instituit

² nauti B Antu Caesarius coll Liv IV 17

^a I e Castor and Pollux Suetonius records (*Div Iul*, 10) that it was dedicated to both, but usually spoken of as the Temple of Castor

with it, and the statue of Hermodorus of Ephesus the interpreter of the laws drafted by the decemvirs, dedicated at the public cost, stood in the Assembly-place of Rome There was a different motive and another reason—an important one—for the statue of Marcus Horatius Cocles, which has survived even to the present day, it was erected because he had single-handed barred the enemy's passage of the Bridge on Piles Also, it does not at all surprise me that statues of the Sibyl stand near the Beaked Platform though there are three of them—one restored by Sextus Pacuvius Taurus, aedile of the plebs, and two by Marcus Messalla I should think these statues and that of Attus Navius, all erected in the period of Tarquinius Priscus, were the first, if it were not for the statues on the Capitol of the kings who reigned before him, among them the figures of Romulus and Tatius without the tunic, as also that of Camillus on the Beaked Platform Also there was in front of the temple of the Castors ^a an equestrian statue of Quintus Marcius Tremulus, wearing a toga, he had twice vanquished the Samnites, and by taking Anagni delivered the nation from payment of war-tax Among the very old statues are also those at the Platform of Tullus Cloelius, Lucius Roscius, Spurius Nautius, and Gaius Fulcinius, all assassinated by the people of Fidenae when on an embassy to them It was the custom for the state to confer this honour on those who had been wrongfully put to death, as among others Publius Junius and Titus Coruncanius, who had been killed by Teuta the Queen of the Illyrians It would seem not to be proper to omit the fact noted by the annals that the statues of these persons,

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- foro statutas, haec videlicet mensura honorata
 func erat non praeterib^e et Cn Octavium ob
 unum SC¹ veibum hic regem Antiochum daturum
 se responsum dicentem vng^a, quam tenebat forte,
 circumscipsit priusque, quam egredetur cculo illo,
 responsum dare coegit in qua legatione imperfecto
 senatus statuam poni iussit quam oculatissimo loco,
 25 eaque est in rostris invenitur statua decreta et
 Taiaciae Gaiæ sive Fufetiae virginis Vestali, ut
 poneretur ubi vellet, quod adiectum non minus
 honoris habet quam feminae esse decretam meri-
 tum eius ipsis ponam annalum verbis quod cam-
 pum Tiberinum gratificata esset ea populo
 26 XII Invenio et Pythagorae et Alcibiadi in
 cornibus comitu positas, cum bello Samniti Apollo
 Pythus iussisset fortissimo Graiae gentis et alterius
 sapientissimo simulacra celebri loco dicari eae
 stetere, donec Sulla dictator ibi cuniam faceret
 mirumque est, illos patres Sociati cunctis ab eodem
 deo sapientia praelato Pythagoran praetulisse aut
 tot alius virtute Alcibiaden et quemquam utroque²
 Themistochi

¹ sc B cl Leid Voss scilicet rell
² utraque coni Mayhoff

^a This is a mistake. This act was performed by C Popillius Laenas when Antiochus IV was on his 4th campaign against Egypt.

^b In fact on an embassy to Syria connected with troubles on the accession of Antiochus V (not IV).

^c *Oculati simus* is the ‘single word’ to which Pliny alludes above, meaning ‘most visible to the eye’.

^d It was in fact an enlargement of the original Senate house.

^e The Athenian chiefly responsible for Athens’ sea power and the defeat of Xerxes by sea at Salamis in 480 B.C.

erected in the forum, were three feet in height, showing that this was the scale of these marks of honour in those days I will not pass over the case of Gnaeus Octavius also, because of a single word that occurs in a Decree of the Senate When King Antiochus IV said he intended to answer him, Octavius^a with the stick he happened to be holding in his hand drew a line all round him and compelled him to give his answer before he stepped out of the circle And as Octavius was killed while on this embassy,^b the senate ordered a statue to be erected to him 'in the spot most eyed'^c and that statue stands on the Platform We also find that a decree was passed to erect a statue to a Vestal Virgin named Taracia Gaia or Fufetia 'to be placed where she wished,' an addition that is as great a compliment as the fact that a statue was decreed in honour of a woman For the Vestal's merits I will quote the actual words of the Annals 'because she had made a gratuitous present to the nation of the field by the Tiber'

XII I also find that statues were erected to *Greek statues* Pythagoras and to Alcibiades, in the corners of the Place of Assembly, when during one of our Samnite Wars Pythian Apollo had commanded the erection in some conspicuous position of an effigy of the bravest man of the Greek race, and likewise, one of the wisest man, these remained until Sulla the dictator made^d the Senate-house on the site It is surprising that those illustrious senators of ours rated Pythagoras above Socrates, whom the same deity had put above all the rest of mankind in respect of wisdom, or rated Alcibiades above so many other men in manly virtue, or anybody above Themistocles^e for wisdom and manly virtue combined

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- 27 Columnarum iatio erat attolli super ceteros mortales, quod et aicus significant novicio invento primus tamen honos coepit a Graecis, nullique arbitror plures statuas dicatas quam Phalereo Demetrio Athenis, siquidem *ccclx* statueret, nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente, quas molaceiavere statuerunt et Romae in omnibus viciis tribus Maio Gratiiano, ut diximus, easdemque subvertei Sullaem introitu
- 28 XIII Pedestres sine dubio Romae fuere in auctoritate longo tempore, et equestrium tamen origo perquam vetus est, cum feminis etiam honore communicato Cloeliae statua equestri, ceu paucum esset toga eam cingi, cum Lucretiae ac Bruto, qui expulerant reges, propter quos Cloelia inter obsides fuerat, non decernerentur hanc primam cum Cochtis publice dicatam crediderim—Atto enim ac Sybillae Tarquinium, ac reges sibi ipsos posuisse verissimile est—, nisi Cloeliae quoque Piso traderet ab his positam, qui una opes fuisse, redditis a Porsina¹ in honorem eius e diverso Annius Fetialis

¹ porsina *B¹* porsena *cd Par 6801* porsenna *rell*

^a An Attic orator and statesman who lived c 345–282 B C , and was exiled in 307 B C after a ten years' tyranny

^b The last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, was supported against his republican enemies at Rome by Lars Porsena the Tuscan king of Clusium, who invaded Rome and seized the Capitol, but withdrew after receiving twenty hostages Among them was a maiden Cloelia, who escaped, swam across the Tiber and reached Rome She was sent back to Porsena, but he was so struck with her gallantry that he set her free and allowed her to take back with her some of the other hostages The rape of Lucretia by Sextus Tarquinius led to

The purport of placing statues of men on columns was to elevate them above all other mortals, which is also the meaning conveyed by the new invention of arches. Nevertheless the honour originally began with the Greeks, and I do not think that any person ever had more statues erected to him than Demetrius^a of Phalerum had at Athens, inasmuch as they set up 360, at a period when the year did not yet exceed that number of days, statues however the Athenians soon shattered in pieces. At Rome also the tribes in all the districts set up statues to Marius^{Roman statues} Gaiatidianus, as we have stated, and likewise threw them down again at the entrance of Sulla^{xxxii 132}

XIII Statues of persons on foot undoubtedly held the field at Rome for a long time, equestrian statues also however are of considerable antiquity, and this distinction was actually extended to women with the equestrian statue of Cloelia, as if it were not enough for her to be clad in a toga, although statues were not voted to Lucretia and Brutus, who had driven out the kings owing to whom Cloelia had been handed over with others as a hostage^b I should have held the view that her statue and that of Coclles were the first erected at the public expense—^{510-509 BC} for it is probable that the monuments to Attus and the Sibyl were erected by Tarquin and those of the kings by themselves—were it not for the statement of Piso that the statue of Cloelia also was erected by the persons who had been hostages with her, when they were given back by Porsena, as a mark of honour to her, whereas on the other hand Annus Fetialis states that an equestrian figure which once

the expulsion of the Tarquins by Brutus and his companions and the establishment of the republican government

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equestrem, quae fuerit contra Iovis Statoris aedem in vestibulo Superbi domus, Valeriae fuisse, Publicolae consulis filiae, eamque solam refugisse Tiberimque transnatavisse ceteris opsidibus, qui¹ Porsinae² mittebantur, interemptis Taiquini insidius

- 30 XIV L Piso prodidit M Aemilio C Popilio iteum eos a censoribus P Cornelio Scipione M Popilio statuas circa forum eorum, qui magistratum gesserant, sublatas omnes praetei eas, quae populi aut senatus sententia statutae essent, eam vero, quam apud aedem Telluris statuisset sibi Sp Cassius, qui regnum adfectaverat, etiam conflitam a censoribus nimirum in ea quoque re ambitionem providebant illi viri exstant Catonis in censuia vociferationes mulieribus statuas Romanis³ in provincis ponit, nec tamen potuit inhibere, quo minus Romae quoque ponerentur, sicuti Corneliae Gracchorum matru, quae fuit Africani prioris filia sedens huic posita soleisque sine ammento insignis in Metelli publica porticu, quae statua nunc est in Octaviae operibus
- 31 b
32 XV Publice autem ab extensis posita est Romae C Aelio tr pl lege perlata in Sthennium Stallium

¹ Vl quae

² porsinae B¹ porsennae

³ statuas romanis B romanis statuas tell (r in p statuas cl Par 6801)

^a Public buildings in Rome erected by Augustus on the site of Metellus' colonnade built in 146 B.C. and named after his sister Octavia. The basis of Cornelia's statue survives.

stood opposite the temple of Jupitei Stator in the forecourt of Tarquinius. Superbus's palace was the statue of Valeia, daughter of Publicola, the consul, and that she alone had escaped and had swum across the Tiber, the other hostages who were being sent to Poisena having been made away with by a stratagem of Tarquin.

XIV Lucius Piso has recorded that, in the second consulship of Marcus Aemilius and Gaius Popilus, the censors Publius Cornelius Scipio and Marcus Popilus caused all the statues round the forum of men who had held office as magistrates to be removed excepting those that had been set up by a resolution of the people or the Senate, while the statue which Spurius Cassius, who had aspired to 158 B monarchy, had erected in his own honour before the temple of the Earth was actually melted down by censors obviously the men of those days took precautions against ambition in the matter of statues also Some declamatory utterances made by Cato during his censorship are extant protesting against 184 B the erection in the Roman provinces of statues to women, yet all the same he was powerless to prevent this being done at Rome also for instance there is the statue of Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi and daughter of the elder Scipio Africanus This represents her in a sitting position and is remarkable because there are no stiaps to the shoes, it stood in the public colonnade of Metellus, but is now in Octavia's Buildings ^a

XV The first statue publicly erected at Rome by foreigners was that in honour of the tribune of the people Gaius Aelius, for having introduced a law against Sthennius Stallius the Lucanian who had

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Lucanum, qui Thurinos bis infestaverat ob id
 Aelium Thurini statua et corona aurea donauunt
 uidem postea Fabriūcum donavere statua libeīati
 obsidione, passimque gentes¹ in clientelas ita²
 receptae, et adeo discūmen omne sublatum, ut
 Hannibal etiam statuae tribus locis visantur in ea
 urbe, cuius intra muros solus hostium emisit hastam

- 33 XVI Fuisse autem statuariam artem familiaiem
 Italiae quoque et vetustam, indicant Heicles ab
 Euandro sacratus, ut produnt, in foro boario, qui
 triumphalis vocatur atque per triumphos vestitui
 habitu triumphali, praeterea Ianus geminus a Numa
 rege dicatus, qui pacis bellique arguento colitur
 digitis ita figuratis, ut ccclv³ dierum nota⁴ et aevi
 34 esse deum indicent⁵ signa quoque Tuscanica per
 terras dispeisa quin⁶ in Etiuria factitata sint,⁷ non
 est dubium deorum tantum putarem ea fuisse, ni
 Methodorus Scepsius, cui cognomen a Romani
 nominis odio inditum est, propter MM statuarum
 Volsinios expugnatos obicebat minime mihi

¹ gentes *cdd* clientes *Gelen* statuae *edd* vett

² *Vl* clientela sua sunt *edd* vett

³ ccclv *edd* vett ccclxv

⁴ nota aut per significationem anni temporis *cdd* seclud
 aut temporis *Mayhoff*

⁵ indicent *B* indicet *rell* indicaret *edd* vett

⁶ quin *Detlefsen* quae quin *Urlichs* quae

⁷ sint *B* om *rell*

^a When he came up to the walls of Rome in 211 b c without
 attacking the city

^b Presumably three fingers of one hand made III, the first
 finger and thumb of that hand V, and the first finger and
 second finger of the other hand V, the thumb and the third
 and little finger of that hand being bent and not counting
 The MSS have 365 (which number was not valid until Caesar's

twice made an attack upon Thurni, for this the ^{289, 28} inhabitants of that place presented Aelius with a statue and a crown of gold. The same people afterwards presented Fabricius with a statue for having rescued them from a state of siege, and various ^{280 B.C.} races successively in some such way placed themselves under Roman patronage, and all discrimination was so completely abrogated that even a statue of Hannibal may be seen in three places in the city within the walls of which he alone of its national foes had hurled a spear ^a.

XVI That the art of statuary was familiar to Italy also and of long standing there is indicated by the statue of Hercules in the Cattle Market said to have been dedicated by Evander, which is called 'Hercules Triumphant,' and on the occasion of triumphal processions is arrayed in triumphal vestments, and also by the two-faced Janus, dedicated by King Numa, which is worshipped as indicating war and peace, the fingers of the statue being so arranged as to indicate the ^b 355 days of the year, and to betoken that Janus is the god of the duration of time. Also there is no doubt that the so-called Tuscanic images scattered all over the world were regularly made in Etruria. I should have supposed these to have been statues of deities only, were it not that Metrodorus of Scepsis, who received his surname ^c from his hatred of the very name of Rome, reproached us with having taken by storm the city of Volsinii for the sake of the 2000 statues which it ^{264 B.C.} contained. And it seems to me surprising that

(time) In such a case the VI could be represented by the thumb and the first and second fingers of one hand

^a Misromaeus, *μισορωμαῖος*, 'Roman hater'

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videtur, cum statuarum origo tam vetus Italiae sit, lignea potius aut fictilia deorum simulacia in delubris dicata usque ad devictam Asiam, unde luxuria

- 35 Similitudines exprimendi quae prima fuerit origo, in ea, quam plasticen Graeci vocant, dici convenientius erit, etenim prior quam statuaria fuit sed haec ad infinitum effloruit, multorum voluminum opere, si quis plura persequi velit, omnia enim quis possit?
36 (XVII) M Scauri aedilitate signorum ^{mmm} in scaena tantum fucie temporis theatro Mummius Achaia devicta replevit urbem, non relicturus filiae dotem, cur enim non cum excusatione ponatur? multa et Luculli invexere Rhodi etiamnum ⁱⁱⁱ¹ signorum esse Mucianus tercos prodidit, nec pauciora Athenis, Olympiae, Delphis superesse creduntur quis ista
37 mortalium persequi possit aut quis usus noscendi intellegatur? insignia maxime et aliqua de causa notata voluptuum sit attigisse artificesque celebratos nominavisse, singulorum quoque inexplicabili multitudine, cum Lysippus ^{MD} opera fecisse prodatur, tantae omnia artis, ut clauitatem possent dare vel singula numerum apparuisse defuncto eo, cum

¹ ⁱⁱⁱ Mayhoff tria milia cd Par 6801 ^{LXXXIII} aut ^{LXXIII} bell

^a See p 110, notes

^b L Licinius Lucullus, consul 74 B C , and his brother M , consul 73 B C

although the initiation of statuary in Italy dates so far back, the images of the gods dedicated in the shrines should have been more usually of wood or terracotta right down to the conquest of Asia,^a which introduced luxury here.

What was the first origin of representing likenesses in the round will be more suitably discussed when we are dealing with the art for which the Greek term is ‘plasticē’ *plastic*, as that was earlier than the art of bronze statuary. But the latter has flourished to an extent passing all limit and offers a subject that would occupy many volumes if one wanted to give a rather extensive account of it—for as for a completely exhaustive account, who could achieve that? (XVII) In the aedileship of Marcus Scaurus there were 3000 statues on the stage in what was only a temporary theatre. Mummius after conquering Achaea filled the city with statues, though destined not to leave enough at his death to provide a dowry for his daughter—for why not mention this as well as the fact that excuses it? A great many were also imported by the Luculli.^b Yet it is stated by Mucianus who was three times consul that there are still 3000 statues at Rhodes, and no smaller number are believed still to exist at Athens, Olympia and Delphi. What mortal man could recapitulate them all, or what value can be felt in such information? Still it may give pleasure just to allude to the most remarkable and to name the artists of celebrity, though it would be impossible to enumerate the total number of the works of each, inasmuch as Lysippus is said to have executed 1500 works of art, all of them so skilful that each of them by itself might have made him famous, the number

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thesaurum effigisset heres, solitum enim ex mani-
pretio cuiusque signi denarios seponere aureos
singulos

- 38 Evecta supra humanam fidem aīs est successu,
mox et audacia in argumentum successus unum
exemplum adferiam, nec deorum hominumve simili-
tudinis expressae aetas nostra videt in Capitolio,
priusquam id novissime conflagraret a Vitellianis
incensum, in cella Iunonis canem ex aere volnus
suum lambentem, cuius eximium miraculum et
indiscreta verū similitudo non eo solum intellegitur,
quod ibi dicata fuerat, verum et satisfactione, nam
quoniam summa nulla pāi videbatur, capite tutelarioris
- 39 cavere pro ea institutum publice fuit (XVIII)
audaciae innumera sunt exempla moles quippe
ex cogitatas videmus statuarum, quas colossaeas
vocant, turribus pāes talis est in Capitolio Apollo
trialatus a M Lucullo ex Apollonia Ponti mībe, ^{xxx}
- 40 cubitorum, ^d¹ talentis factus, talis in campo Martio
Iuppiter, a ² Claudio Cæsare dicatus, qui devorati
Pompeiani theatru vicinitate, talis et Tarenti
factus a Lysippo, xl cubitorum mirum in eo quod
manu, ut ferunt, mobilis ea ratio libramenti est, ut
nullis convellatur procellis id quidem providisse
et artifex dicitur modico intervallo, unde maxime

¹ D *edd* L *Overbeck* CL *edd vett* (*recte* ²)
a B *cd* Par 6801 aulo *rell* a *divo Gronov*

^a No doubt a *στατήρ*

^b This figure seems too large

^c Lit 'is swallowed up by'

is said to have been discovered after his decease, when his heir broke open his coffers, it having been his practice to put aside a coin^a of the value of one gold denarius out of what he got as reward for his handicraft for each statue

The art rose to incredible heights in success and afterwards in boldness of design To prove its success I will adduce one instance, and that not of a representation of either a god or a man our own generation saw on the Capitol, before it last went up in flames burnt at the hands of the adherents of Vitellius, in the shrine of Juno, a bronze figure of a hound licking its wound, the miraculous excellence and absolute truth to life of which is shown not only by the fact of its dedication in that place but also by the method taken for insuring it, for as no sum of money seemed to equal its value, the government enacted that its custodians should be answerable for its safety with their lives (XVIII) Of boldness of design the examples are innumerable We see enormously huge statues devised, what are called Colossi, as large as towers Such is the Apollo on the Capitol, brought over by Marcus Lucullus from Apollonia, a city of Pontus, 45 ft high, which cost 500^b talents to make, or the Jupiter which the Emperor Claudius dedicated in the Campus Martius, which is dwarfed^c by the proximity of the theatre of Pompey, or the 60 ft high statue at Taranto made by Lysippus The remarkable thing in the case of the last is that though it can be moved by the hand, it is so nicely balanced, so it is said, that it is not dislodged from its place by any storms This indeed, it is said, the artist himself provided against by erecting a column a short distance from

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flatum opus erat fiangi, opposita columna itaque magnitudinem propter difficultatemque molendi¹ non attigit eum Fabius Veiiucosus, cum Herculem,
 41 qui est in Capitolio, inde transferret ante omnes autem in admiratione fuit Solis colossus Rhodi, quem fecerat Chares Lindius, Lysippi supra dicti discipulus ^{LXX} cubitorum altitudinis fuit hoc simulacrum, post ^{LXVI}² annum terrae motu prostratum, sed iacens quoque miraculo est pauci pollicem eius amplectuntur, maiores sunt digiti quam plenaeque statuae vasti specus hiant defiactis membris, spectantur intus magnae molis saeva, quorum pondere stabiliverat eum constituens duodecim annis tradunt effectum ccc talentis, quae contigerant ex apparatu regis Demetrii relicto morae taedio
 42 obsessa³ Rhodo sunt ali centum numero in eadem urbe colossi minores hoc, sed ubicumque singuli fuissent, nobilitaturi locum, praeterque hos deorum quinque, quos fecit Bryaxis
 43 Factitavit colosso et Italia videmus certe Tuscanicum Apollinem in bibliotheca templi Augusti quinquaginta pedum a pollice, dubium aere mirabilorem an pulchritudine fecit et Sp. Caevilius Iovem, qui est in Capitolio, vicitis Samnitibus sacrata

¹ movendi *B*

² LXVI *B*¹ LVI

³ obessa *B* obesse a rell (obcesso *cd* *Vind*) obsessae *Sillig del eild vett (item rhodo)*

it to shelter it on the side where it was most necessary to break the force of the wind. Accordingly, because of its size, and the difficulty of moving it with great labour, Fabius Veirucosus left it alone when he transferred the Heracles from that place ^{209 B.C.} to the Capitol where it now stands. But calling for admiration before all others was the colossal Statue of the Sun at Rhodes made by Chares of Lindus, ^{Charles Colossal statue at Rhodes} the pupil of Lysippus mentioned above. This statue was 105 ft high, and, 66 years after its erection, was overthrown by an earthquake, but ^{c. 226 B.C.} even lying on the ground it is a marvel. Few people can make their arms meet round the thumb of the figure, and the fingers are larger than most statues, and where the limbs have been broken off enormous cavities yawn, while inside are seen great masses of rock with the weight of which the artist steadied it when he erected it. It is recorded that it took twelve years to complete and cost 300 talents, money realized from the engines of war belonging to King Demetrius ^a which he had abandoned when he got tired of the protracted siege of Rhodes. There ^{305-4 B.C.} are a hundred other colossal statues in the same city, which though smaller than this one would have each of them brought fame to any place where it might have stood alone, and besides these there were five colossal statues of gods, made by Bryaxis.

Italy also was fond of making colossal statues. At all events we see the Tuscanic ^b Apollo in the library of the Temple of Augustus, 50 ft in height measuring from the toe, and it is a question whether it is more remarkable for the quality of the bronze or for the beauty of the work. Spurius Carvilius also made the Jupiter that stands in the Capitol,

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lege pugnantibus e pectoralibus eorum oceisque et
 galeis amplitudo tanta est, ut conspicuati a
 Latianis Iove e reliquis limae suam statuam
 44 fecit, quae est ante pedes simulacri eius habent in
 eodem Capitolio admirationem et capita duo, quae
 P Lentulus eos dicavit, alterum a Charete supra
 dicto factum, alterum fecit dicus¹ comparatione in tantum victus, ut aitificum² minime pio-
 45 babilis videatur verum omnem amplitudinem sta-
 tuarum eius generis vicit aetate nostra Zenodorus
 Mercurio facto in civitate Galiae Arvernis per
 annos decem, us [cccc]³ manipreti, postquam satis
 artem ibi adprobaverat, Romam accitus a Neione,
 ubi destinatum illius principis simulacio⁴ colossum
 fecit cVIS⁵ pedum in⁶ longitudinem, qui dicatus
 Soli⁷ veneracioni est damnatis sceleribus illius
 46 principis mirabamini in officina non modo ex
 argilla similitudinem insignem, verum et de parvis
 admodum surculis⁸ quod primum operis instauratus
 fuit ei statua indicavit interisse fundendi aeris
 scientiam, cum et Nero largior aurum aargentumque
 paratus esset et Zenodorus scientia fingendi cae-
 47 landique nulli veterum postponeretur statuam Ar-

¹ Prodigius *conii Silius* Pythodorus Urlichs coll § 85

² *Vl* aitificium

³ [cccc] Ian cccc

⁴ simulacro *B* simulacrum rell

⁵ cVIS Detlefsen cxix Ian cxix Urlichs cui nonaginta (= cVIXC) *B* cui x aut alia rell

⁶ in add Mayhoff

⁷ soli *B* solis rell

⁸ subiectis *conii Warmington*

^a On the Alban Mount, ten miles from Rome

^b Only the last five letters of the name survive in MSS
 Another conjectured restoration is Pythodorus, cf § 85

after defeating the Samnites in the war which they fought under a most solemn oath,^{293 B.C.} the metal was obtained from their breastplates, greaves and helmets, and the size of the figure is so great that it can be seen from the temple of Jupiter Latiaris.^a Out of the bronze filings left over Carvilius made the statue of himself that stands at the feet of the statue of Jupiter. The Capitol also contains two much admired heads dedicated by the consul Publius Lentulus, one made by Chares above-mentioned and the other by Prodicus,^b who is so outdone by comparison as to seem the poorest of artists. But all the gigantic statues of this class have been beaten in our period by Zenodorus with the Hermes or Mercury which he made in the community of the Averni in Gaul, it took him ten years and the sum paid for its making was 40,000,000 sesterces. Having given sufficient proof of his artistic skill in Gaul he was summoned to Rome by Nero, and there made the ^{Zenodorus} ^{A.D. 54-68} colossal statue, 106½ ft high, intended to represent that emperor but now, dedicated to the sun after the condemnation of that emperor's crimes, it is an object of awe. In his studio we used not only to admire the remarkable likeness of the clay model but also to marvel at the frame of quite small timbers^c which constituted the first stage of the work put in hand. This statue has shown that skill in bronze-founding has perished, since Nero was quite ready to provide gold and silver, and also Zenodorus was counted inferior to none of the artists of old in his knowledge of modelling and chasing. When he

^a A skeleton for the model, or, according to Eugénie Sellers, slender wax tubes covering a wax model, which was then cased in loam before bronze was poured in

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venorum cum faceret provinciae Dubio¹ Avito praesidente, duo pocula Calamidis manu caelata, quae Cassio Salano avunculo eius, piaeceptori suo, Germanicus Caesar adamata donaverat, aemulatus est, ut vir ulla differentia esset artis quanto maior Zenodoro praestantia fuit, tanto magis deprehenditur aeris obliteratio

- 48 Signis, quae vocant Corinthia, plenique in tantum capiuntur, ut secum circumferant, sicut Hortensius orator sphingem Verri reo ablatam, propter quam Ciceo illo iudicio in altercatione neganti ei, aenigmata se intellegere, respondit debere, quoniam sphingem domi haberet circumtulit et Neio princeps Amazonem, de qua dicemus, et paulo ante C Cestius consularis² signum,³ quod secum etiam in proeho habuit Alexandri quoque Magni tabernaculum sustinere traduntur solitae statuae, ex quibus duae ante Martis Ultoris aedem dicatae sunt, totidem ante regiam
- 49 XIX Minoribus simulacris signisque innumera prope artificum multitudo nobilitata est, ante omnes tamen Phidias Atheniensis Iove Olympio⁴ facto ex ebore quidem et auro, sed et ex aere signa fecit

¹ Vibio cd Par 6801 Duuio J Klein

² consularis Laris Frohner

³ sphingem coni Mayhoff seclud Urlichs

⁴ Olympio B Olympiae rell

^a The reference is probably to statuettes, not medallions or signet rings or brooches

^b Apparently Pliny has made a mistake, because Alexander's σκηνὴ was the canopy (supported by four golden statues of Victory) of the chariot which carried Alexander's dead body to Alexandria

^c In the forum of Augustus at Rome

^d Near the temple of Vesta

was making the statue for the Arverni, when the governor of the province was Dubius Avitus, he produced facsimiles of two chased cups, the handiwork of Calamis, which Germanicus Caesar had prized highly and had presented to his tutor Cassius Salanus, Avitus's uncle, the copies were so skilfully made that there was scarcely any difference in artistry between them and the originals. The greater was the eminence of Zenodotus, the more we realize how the art of working bronze has deteriorated.

Owners of the figurines^a called Corinthian are *Figurines* usually so enamoured of them that they carry them about with them, for instance the orator Hortensius was never parted from the sphinx which he had got out of Veies when on trial, this explains Cicero's ^{70 B.C.} retort when Hortensius in the course of an altercation at the trial in question said he was not good at riddles 'You ought to be,' said Cicero, 'as you keep a figurine in your pocket.' The emperor Nero also ^{A.D. 54-68} used to carry about with him an Amazon which we shall describe later, and a little before Nero, the ^{\$ 82} ex-consul Gaius Cestius used to go about with a sphinx, which he had with him even on the battlefield. It is also said that the tent^b of Alexander the Great was regularly erected with four statues as tent-poles, two of which have now been dedicated to stand in front of the temple^c of Mars the Avenger and two in front of the Royal Palace^d.

XIX An almost innumerable multitude of artists have been rendered famous by statues and figures of smaller size, but before them all stands the Athenian Pheidias, celebrated for the statue of Olympian Zeus, which in fact was made of ivory and gold, although he also made figures of bronze. He

*Small
statues
Famous*

*Greek
statuaries*

Born c. 500

B.C.

c. 450 B.C.

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floruit autem olympiade LXXXIII, circiter CCC urbis nostrae annum,¹ quo erdem tempore aemuli eius fuerunt Alcamenes, Critias, Nesiotes, Hegias, et deinde olympiade LXXXVII Hagelades, Callon, Goigias Lacon, ruisus LXXX Polyclitus, Phidias, Myron, Pythagoras, Scopas, Peilellus² ex iis Polyclitus discipulos habuit Aegium, Asopodoum, Alexim, Aristidem, Phrynonem, Dinonem,³ Athenodorum, Demeam Chititorum, Myron Lycium LXXXV olympiade floruerunt Naucydes, Dinomenes, Canachus, Patroclus, cii Polycles, Cephisodotus, Leochares,⁴ Hypatodus,⁵ ciii Praxiteles, Euphianor, cvii Aetion, Theomachus cxiii Lysippus fuit, cum et Alexander Magnus, item Lysistatus frater eius, Sthennis⁶ Euphron, Sofocles,⁷ Sostiatus, Ion, Silanion—in hoc mirabile quod nullo doctore nobilis fuit, ipse discipulum habuit Zeuxiadens—, cxxi Eutychides, Euthyocrates, Laippus,⁸ Cephisodotus,⁹ Timarchus, Pyromachus¹⁰ cessavit deinde aīs ac rursus olympiade CLVI revixit, cum fuere longe quidem infia praedictos,

¹ Vl anno

² Perellus *B* Perelius *rell* Perileus *Thiersch*

³ om *B*

⁴ Leochares *Hermolaus Barbarus* (cf § 79) leuchares *B* leuihares *aut sim rell*

⁵ Epatodorus *Hermolaus Barbarus*

⁶ Sthennis *Hermolaus Barbarus* thenis

⁷ Euphron, Sofocles *Loewy* E, Euclies *Ian* euphron fuelles *B* euphrönicles *aut ides rell*

⁸ Dahippus *Hardouin*

⁹ Cephisodorus *Gelen*

¹⁰ Phyromachus *Keil*

^a More exactly the 306th to the 309th year of the city of Rome = 448–445 B.C.

^b In merit For Critias the *Marmor Parium* has Critios

BOOK XXXIV XIX 49-52

flourished in the 83rd Olympiad, about ^a the 300th 448-445 B year of our city, at which same period his rivals ^b 454 B C were Alcamenes, Critias, Nesiotes and Hegias, and later, in the 87th Olympiad there were Hagelades,^c 432-429 B Callon and the Spartan Gorgias, and again in the 90th Olympiad Polycleitus, Phradmon, Myron, 420-417 B Pythagoras,^d Scopas^e and Perellus Of these Polycleitus had as pupils Argius, Asopodus, Alexis, Aistides, Phryno, Dino, Athenodus, and Demeas of Clitor, and Myron had Lycius In the 95th 400-397 B Olympiad flourished Naucydes, Dinomenes, Canachus and Paticlous, and in the 102nd Polycles, Cephi- 372-369 B C sodotus, Leochares and Hypatodorus, in the 104th 364-361 B C Pianiteles and Euphianor in the 107th Aetion 352-349 B C and Theumachus Lysippus^f was in the 113th, the 327-324 B C period of Alexander the Great, and likewise his brother Lysistratus, Sthennis, Euphron, Sophocles, Sostratus, Ion and Silanion—a remarkable fact in the case of the last named being that he became famous without having had any teacher, he himself had Zeuxiades as his pupil—and in the 121st 295-292 B C Eutychides, Euthycrates, Laippus,^g Cephisodotus, Timarchus and Pyiomachus After that the art languished, and it revived again in the 156th 156-153 B C Olympiad, when there were the following, far inferior it is true to those mentioned above, but

^a The Greek form is Hagelaidas He really flourished c 515-485 B C

^b In fact Myron's best work was done before 450 B C, Pythagoras' before 475 B C

^c In fact Scopas was still working in 350 B C unless we have here an elder Scopas

^f He was apparently working soon after 369 B C

^g Probably this should be Daippus as in § 87, cf. Paus VI 12, 6 16, 35, Δαιππος

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- probati tamen, Antaeus,¹ Callistratus, Polycles
 Athenaeus, Callivenus, Pythocles, Pythias, Timocles
 53 Ita distinctis celeberrimorum aetatibus insignes
 raptim transcurram, reliqua multitudine passim
 dispersa venere autem et in certamen laudatissimi,
 quamquam diversis aetatibus geniti, quoniam fecerant
 Amazonas, quae cum in templo Dianaë Ephesiae
 dicarentur, placuit eligi probatissimam ipsorum
 artificum, qui praesentes erant, iudicio, cum²
 apparuit eam esse, quam omnes secundam a sua
 quisque iudicassent haec est Polychitæ, proxima
 ab ea Phidiae, tercia Ctesilæ,³ quarta Cydonis,
 quinta Phradmonis
 54 Phidias praetei Iovem Olympium, quem nemo
 aemulatur, fecit ex ebore auroque⁴ Minervam
 Athenis, quae est in Païthenone stans, ex aere vero
 praeter Amazonem supra dictam Minervam tam
 eximiae pulchritudinis, ut formæ cognomen acceperit
 fecit et cliduchum et aliam Minervam, quam Romæ
 Paulus Aemilius ad aedem Fortunæ Huiuscè Diei
 dicavit, item duo signa, quae Catulus in eadem aede,
 palliata et alterum colossicon nudum, primusque
 artem toreuticen aperuisse atque demonstrasse
 merito iudicatu

¹ Antheus *edd. vett.*

² tum *O Jahn*

³ ctesilæ *B* Ctesilæ *Gelen* Ctesilai *Hardouin*

⁴ auroque *comi Mayhoff* aeque

^a Some blunder has produced a new artist out of the name Cydonia, Cresilas's birthplace

^b Perhaps Callimorphos, 'fair of form'

^c A priestess probably, but possibly Persephone

BOOK XXXIV vii 52-54

nevertheless artists of repute Antaeus, Callistratus, Polycles of Athens, Callicrates, Pythocles, Pythias^a, and Timocles.

After thus defining the periods of the most famous artists, I will hastily run through those of outstanding distinction, throwing in the rest of the throng here and there under various heads. The most celebrated have also come into competition with each other, although born at different periods, because they had made statues of Amazons, when these were dedicated in the Temple of Artemis of Ephesus, it was agreed that the best one should be selected by the vote of the artists themselves who were present, and it then became evident that the best was the one which all the artists judged to be the next best after their own this is the Amazon by Polycleitus, while next to it came that of Pheidias, third Cresilas's, fourth Cydon's^a and fifth Phradmon's.

Pheidias, besides the Olympian Zeus, which ^{Pheidias} nobody has ever rivalled, executed in ivory and gold § 49 the statue of Athene that stands erect in the Parthenon at Athens, and in bronze, besides the Amazon mentioned above, an Athene of such exquisite beauty that it has been surnamed the Fair^b. He also made the Lady^c with the Keys, and another Athene which Aemilius Paulus dedicated in Rome 167 B.C.? at the temple of Today's Fortune, and likewise a work consisting of two statues wearing cloaks which Catulus erected in the same temple, and another work, a colossal statue undraped, and Pheidias deservedly deemed to have first revealed the capabilities and indicated the methods of statuary^d.

^a Here perhaps all statuary as contrasted with painting, else all metal work only

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- 55 Polyclitus Sicyonius, Hageladae discipulus, diadumenum fecit molliter vivenem, centum talentis nobilitatum, idem et doryphorum vixiliter puerum fecit et¹ quem canona artifices vocant liniamenta ait̄is ex eo petentes veluti a lege quadam, solusque hominum ait̄em ipsam fecisse ait̄is opere iudicatur fecit et destringentem se et nudum telo² incessentem duosque pueros item nudos, talis ludentes, qui vocantur astigalizantes et sunt in Tit̄ imperatoris atrio—quo³ opere nullum absolutius plenique iudicant,—item Mercurium qui fuit Lysimacheae,
- 56 Herculem, qui Romae, hagetera⁴ aīma sumentem, Artemona, qui periphoetos appellatus est hic consummasse hanc scientiam iudicatur et toleuticen sic erudisse, ut Phidias aperuisse proprium eius est, uno crure ut insisterent signa, excogitasse, quadrata tamen esse ea ait Varro et paene ad exemplum
- 57 Myronem Eleutheris natum, Hageladae et ipsum discipulum, bucula maxime nobilitavit celebratis

¹ *del et Urlich's punto post puerum sublatu*

² *telo Benndorf* talo

³ quo cd Par 6801 hoc Ian duo hoc B om rell

⁴ hagetera B agetera rell alexetera Hardouin Anteum e terra (om arma) ed vett

^a Of Argos, says Plato (*Protag* 311c) But his family moved to Sicyon He cannot however have been a pupil of Hagelades (§ 49) Copies of Polycleitus' *Diadumenos* and of his *Doryphorus* are extant Pliny confuses the great Polycleitus with P the younger, likewise of Argos, who lived in the 4th century BC

^b We know however that this 'model statue' or 'standard' was the *Doryphorus* just mentioned

^c Or, 'in a single work embodied the principles of his art' P wrote a treatise on art called it *Kav̄s̄v*, then made his

Polycleitus of Sicyon,^a pupil of Hagelades, made a statue of the 'Diadumenos' or Binding his Hair—a youth, but soft-looking—famous for having cost 100 talents, and also the 'Doryphoros' or Carrying a Spear—a boy, but manly-looking. He also made what artists call a 'Canon' or Model Statue,^b as they draw their artistic outlines from it as from a sort of standard, and he alone of mankind is deemed by means of one work of art to have created the art itself^c. He also made the statue of the Man using a Body-scraper ('Apoxyomenos') and, in the nude, the Man Attacking with Spear, and the Two Boys Playing Dice, likewise in the nude, known by the Greek name of *Astragalizontes* and now standing in the fore-court of the Emperor Titus—this is generally considered to be the most perfect work of art in existence—and likewise the Hermes that was once at Lysimachea, Heracles, the Leader Donning his Armour, which is at Rome, and Artemon,^d called the Man in the Litter. Polycleitus is deemed to have perfected this science of statuary and to have refined the art of carving sculpture, just as Pheidias is considered to have revealed it. A discovery that was entirely his own is the art of making statues throwing their weight on one leg, although Varro says these figures are of a square build and almost all made on one model.

Myron, who was born at Eleutherae, was himself also a pupil of Hagelades, he was specially famous for his statue of a heifer, celebrated in some well-

Doryphoros on his own principles, and called the sculptured work also *Kaváv*

^a A famous voluntary (not the engineer of Pericles' time)

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- veisibus laudata, quando alieno plenique ingenio
 magis quam suo commendantui fecit et Ladam¹
 et discobolon et Peiseum et pristas² et Satyrum
 admirantem tibias et Mineivam, Delphicos penta-
 thlos, panciatistas, Herculem, qui est apud cūcum
 maximum in aede Pompei Magni fecisse et
 cicadae monumentum ac locustae cāminibus suis
 58 Erinna significat fecit et Apollinem, quem ab
 triumvno Antonio sublatum restituit Ephesus divus
 Augustus admonitus in quiete primus hic multi-
 plicasse veitatem videtur, numeiosior in arte quam
 Polyclitus et in³ symmetria diligentior, et ipse tamen
 corporum tenus cuiusquis animi sensus non expressisse,
 capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse,
 quam rudis antiquitas instituisset
- 59 Vicit eum Pythagoras Reginus ex Italia panciatiste
 Delphis posito, eodem vicit et Leontiscum fecit
 et stadiodionon Astylon, qui Olympiae ostenditui,
 et Libyn⁴ puerum tenentem tabellam⁵ eodem loco,
 et mala ferentem nudum, Syiacus autem claudi-
 cantem, cuius ulceris dolorem sentire etiam spectantes

¹ Ladam Benndorf canem

² pyctas Loschke

³ et in cdd del et Sillig

⁴ Libyn Hermolaus Barbarus lybin B lipin aut lympin
 aut iolpum rell

⁵ tabellam B tabellas rell

^a Ladas was a famous runner But the MSS give *canem* 'dog' Copies of Myron's *Discobolos* are extant

^b It is possible that Pliny wrote 'the Boxers'

^c Probably a group of Marsyas and Athene, of which copies exist

^d Experts in both boxing and wrestling

^e This absurd statement is caused by a confusion of Μυρών and a girl Μυρώ (Anth Pal VII 190—Myro makes a tomb for her pet insect)

^f For another interpretation see E Gardner, *Classical Review* II 69

^g Leontiscos was an athlete, not an artist

known sets of verses—inasmuch as most men owe their reputation more to someone else's talent than to their own His other works include Ladas^a and a 'Discobolos' or Man Throwing a Discus, and Perseus, and The Sawyers,^b and The Satyr Marvelling at the Flute and Athene,^c Competitors in the Five Bouts at Delphi, the All-round Fighters,^d the Heracles now in the house of Pompey the Great at the Circus Maximus Erinna^e in her poems indicates that he even made a memorial statue of a tree-cricket and a locust He also made an Apollo which was taken from the people of Ephesus by Antonius the Triumvir but restored to them by his late lamented Majesty Augustus in obedience to a warning given him in a dream Myron is the first sculptor who appears to have enlarged the scope of realism, having more rhythms in his art than Polycleitus and being more careful in his proportions^f Yet he himself so far as surface configuration goes attained great finish, but he does not seem to have given expression to the feelings of the mind, and moreover he has not treated the han and the pubes with any more accuracy than had been achieved by the rude work of olden days

Myron was defeated by the Italian Pythagoras of Reggio with his All-round Fighter which stands at Delphi, with which he also defeated Leontiscus^g, Pythagoras also did the runner Astylos which is on show at Olympia, and, in the same place, the Libyan^h as a boy holding a tablet, and the nude Man Holding Apples, while at Syracuse there is his Lame Man, which actually makes people looking at it feel a pain from his ulcer in their own leg, and

^a Mnaseas of Cyrene Paus VI 13, 7, 18, 1

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videntur, item Apollinem serpentemque eius sagittis configi,¹ citharoedum, quic Dicaeus appellatus est, quod, cum Thebae ab Alejandro caperentur, aurum a fugiente conditum sinu eius celatum esset hic primus nervos et venas expressit capillumque diligentius

- 60 Fuit et alius Pythagoras Samius, initio pictor, cuius signa ad aedem Fortunae Huiusc diei septem nuda et senis unum laudata sunt hic supra dicto facie quoque indiscreta similis fuisse traditur, Regini autem discipulus et filius soioris fuisse Sostratus
- 61 Lysippum Sicyonium Dulius negat ullius fuisse discipulum, sed primo aeiarium fabium audendi rationem cepisse pictoris Eupompi responso eum enim interrogatum, quem sequeretur antecedentium, divisisse monstrata hominum multitudine, naturam
- 62 ipsam imitandam esse, non artificem plurima ex omnibus signa fecit, ut divimus, fecundissimae artis, inter quae destingentem se, quem M Agrippa ante Thermas suas dicavit, mire gratum Tiberio principi non quivit temperare sibi in eo, quamquam imperiosus sui inter initia principatus, transtulitque in cubiculum alio signo substituto, cum quidem tanta pop R

¹ configi *Ian* configit *B* confici *ell*

^a Named Cleon, a Theban poet Athenae I 19b

^b *I e* the statue afterwards restored the deposit entrusted to it

^c It is now known that he was the same as P of Reggio Paus VI 4, 3-4 shows that P of Reggio was the sculptor of the statue of Euthynos, but we have the basis of that statue, whereon P signs himself as 'Samian'. He must therefore have migrated to Reggio

^d 'Apoxyomenos'. The example in the Vatican is probably by a 3rd century artist

also Apollo shooting the Python with his Arrows, a Man^a playing the Harp, that has the Greek name of The Honest Man^b given it because when Alexander took Thebes a fugitive successfully hid 335 BC in its bosom a sum of gold Pythagoras of Reggio was the first sculptor to show the sinews and veins, and to represent the hair more carefully

There was also another^c Pythagoras, a Samian, *Pythagoras of Samos* who began as a painter, his seven nude statues now at the temple of To-day's Fortune and one of an old man are highly spoken of He is recorded to have resembled the above mentioned Pythagoras so closely that even their features were indistinguishable, but we are told that Sostratus was a pupil of Pythagoras of Reggio and a son of this Pythagoras' sister

Lysippus of Sicyon is said by Duris not to have *Lysippus* been the pupil of anybody, but to have been originally a copper-smith and to have first got the idea of venturing on sculpture from the reply given by the painter Eupompus when asked which of his predecessors he took for his model, he pointed to a crowd of people and said that it was Nature herself, not an artist, whom one ought to imitate Lysippus as we have said was a most prolific artist and made more 537 statues than any other sculptor, among them the Man using a Body-scraper^d which Marcus Agrippa gave to be set up in front of his Warm Baths and of which the emperor Tiberius was remarkably fond AD 14-37 Tiberius, although at the beginning of his principate he kept some control of himself, in this case could not resist the temptation, and had the statue removed to his bedchamber, putting another one in its place at the baths, but the public were so

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contumacia fuit, ut theatri clamoribus reponi apoyo-
 menon flagitaverit princepsque, quamquam adam-
 63 tum, reposuerit nobilitatur Lysippus et temulentia
 tibicina et canibus ac venatione, in primis vero
 quadriga cum Sole Rhodiorum fecit et Alexandrum
 Magnum multis operibus, a pueritia eius orsus,
 quam statuam inaurari iussit Neiro princeps delectatus
 admodum illa, dein, cum pretio perisset gratia artis,
 detractum est aurum, pietiosiorque talis existima-
 batur¹ etiam cicatricibus operis atque concisuris,
 64 in quibus aurum haeserat,² remanentibus idem
 fecit Hephaestionem, Alexandri Magni amicum,
 quem quidam Polyclito adscribant, cum is centum
 prope annis ante fuerit, item Alexandri venationem,
 quae Delphis sacrata est, Athenis Satyrum, tuimam
 Alexandri, in qua amicorum eius imagines summa
 omnium similitudine expressit, hanc Metellus
 Macedonia subacta transtulit Romam fecit et
 65 quadrigas multorum generum statuuae arti pluri-
 mum traditui contulisse, capillum exprimendo,
 capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora
 gracilioia siccioraque, per quae proceritas signiorum
 maior videretur non habet Latinum nomen sym-

¹ *Vl existimatur*² fuerat *B* haeserat *rell*^a With the head encircled with rays^b This would be right, perhaps, if they meant the younger
P., unknown to Pliny^c Twenty five officers who fell in the Battle of the Granicus
Vellei Paterc., I 11, 3

obstinately opposed to this that they raised an outcry at the theatre, shouting "Give us back the '*Apoxyomenos*'"—Man using a Body-scraper—and the Emperor, although he had fallen quite in love with the statue, had to restore it. Lysippus is also famous for his Tipsy Girl playing the Flute, and his Hounds and Huntsmen in Pursuit of Game, but most of all for his Chariot with the Sun belonging to Rhodes.^a He also executed a series of statues of Alexander the Great, beginning with one in 356-323 B.C. Alexander's boyhood. The emperor Nero was so delighted by this statue of the young Alexander that he ordered it to be gilt, but this addition to its money value so diminished its artistic attraction that afterwards the gold was removed, and in that condition the statue was considered yet more valuable, even though still retaining scars from the work done on it and incisions in which the gold had been fastened. The same sculptor did Alexander the Great's friend Hephaestus, a statue which some people ascribe to Polycleitus,^b although his date is about a hundred years earlier, and also Alexander's Hunt, dedicated at Delphi, a Satyr now at Athens, and Alexander's Squadron of Horse, in which the sculptor introduced portraits of Alexander's friends^c consummately lifelike in every case. After the conquest of Macedonia this was removed to Rome by 148 B.C. Metellus, he also executed Four-horse Chariots of various kinds. Lysippus is said to have contributed greatly to the art of bronze statuary by representing the details of the hair and by making his heads smaller than the old sculptors used to do, and his bodies more slender and firm, to give his statues the appearance of greater height. He scrupulously

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metua, quam diligentissime custodit¹ nova intactaque ratione quadriatas veterum statuas permutando, vulgoque dicebat ab illis factos quales essent homines, a se quales viderentur esse propriae huius videntur esse argutiae operum custoditae in minimis quoque rebus

- 66 Filios et discipulos reliquit laudatos artifices Laippum,² Boedan, sed ante omnes Euthyciaten, quamquam is constantiam potius imitatus patris quam elegantiam austero maluit genere quam iucundo placere itaque optume expressit Heraclem Delphis et Alexandrum Thespis venatorem et Thespianas,³ proelium equestre, simulacrum ipsum Trophonii ad oraculum, quadrigas complures, equum⁴
- 67 cum fiscinis,⁵ canes venantium huius poiro discipulus fuit Tisicrates, et ipse Sicyonius, sed Lysippi sectae propior, ut vix discernantur complura signa, ceu senex Thebanus et Demetrius rex, Peucestes, Alexandri Magni servator, dignus tanta gloria
- 68 Artifices, qui compositis voluminibus condidere haec, miris laudibus celebiant Telephanen Pho-

¹ custodit *Mayhoff* custodit aut custodivit *cdd*

² Dahippum *Hardouin*

³ et Thespianas *cd Par Lat* 6797 *om thespianas B o.n et cd Leid Voss, cd Flor Ricc et thespiadum cd Par 6801*

⁴ equitem *coni T B L Webster* ⁵ fiscinis *B fuscinis rell*

^a See note on Laippus in § 51

^b Or ‘his Hercules made for Delphi, and his Alexander Hunting, and his Thespianas (these two made for Thespiae)’ The Thespianas were the Muses

^c All MSS except one give *fiscinis*, ‘with Two pronged Spears’

preserved the quality of 'symmetry' (for which there is no word in Latin) by the new and hitherto untired method of modifying the squareness of the figure of the old sculptors, and he used commonly to say that whereas his predecessors had made men as they really were, he made them as they appeared to be. A peculiarity of this sculptor's work seems to be the minute finish maintained in even the smallest details.

Lysippus left three sons who were his pupils, the celebrated artists Laippus,^a Boedas and Euthycretes, the last pre-eminent, although he copied the harmony rather than the elegance of his father, preferring to win favour in the severely correct more than in the agreeable style. Accordingly his Heracles, at Delphi, and his Alexander Hunting, at Thespiae, his group of Thespiades,^b and his Cavalry in Action are works of extreme finish, and so are his statue of Trophonius at the oracular shrine of that deity, a number of Four-horse Chariots, a Horse with Baskets^c and a Pack of Hounds. Moreover Tisicrates, another native of Sicyon, was a pupil of Euthycretes, but closer to the school of Lysippus—indeed many of his statues cannot be distinguished from Lysippus's work, for instance his Old Man of Thebes, his King Demetrius (Polioctetes), and his Peucestes, the man who saved the life of Alexander the Great and so deserved the honour of this commemoration.

Artists^d who have composed treatises recording these matters speak with marvellously high praise of Telephanes of Phocis, who is otherwise unknown,

^a Pliny means the writers Xenocrates of Sicyon and Antigonus of Carystus, from whom, through Varro, much of Pliny's material about art comes.

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caeum, ignotum alias, quoniam¹ Thessalae² habitaverit et ibi opera eius latuerint, alioquin suffragus ipsorum aequatui Polyclito, Myroni, Pythagore laudant eius Laissam et Spintharum pentathlum et Apollinem alii non hanc ignobilitatis fuisse causam, sed quod se regum Xerxis atque Dares officinis dedidevit, existimant

- 69 Piatiteles quoque, qui³ marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit, fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera Proseipinae raptum, item catagusam et Liberum patrem Eburietatem nobilemque una Satyrum, quem Graeci periboeon cognominant, et signa, quae ante Felicitatis aedem fuerint, Veneremque, quae ipsa aedis incendio cremata est Claudi principatu, marmoreae illi suae per terias inclutae parem,
 70 item stephanusam,⁴ pselumenen,⁵ Oporan,⁶ Harmodium et Aristogitonem tyannicidas, quos a Xerxe Persicum rege captos victa Perside Atheniensibus remisit Magnus Alexander fecit et puberem Apollinem subrepenti lacertae communis sagitta

¹ lac C F W Muller

² thessalae B in thessalia rell

³ qui add Mayhoff

⁴ Fortasse <se> stephanusam vel stephanusam <se>

⁵ pselumenen Urlichs, O Jahn psellumenen cd Leid Toss varia rell

⁶ Oporan cd Flor Ricc varia rell (oporum cd Par 6801) oenophorum edd vett canephoram Urlichs (immo canephorum)

^a Καταγωσα, from καταγω ‘draw down,’ ‘spin’

^b The wreath would be one bestowed on an athlete by the city (personified) when he won his victory, *pselumene* is from φελιῶ, and φέλιον means an armlet

^c Not the actual tyrant Hippias but his brother and assistant Hipparchus, at Athens, 514–13 BC

since he lived at in Thessaly where his works have remained in concealment, although these writers' own testimony puts him on a level with Polycleitus, Myron and Pythagoras. They praise his Larisa, his Spintharus the Five-bout Champion, and his Apollo. Others however are of opinion that the cause of his lack of celebrity is not the reason mentioned but his having devoted himself entirely to the studios established by King Xerxes and King Darius.

Praxiteles although more successful and therefore more celebrated in marble, nevertheless also made some very beautiful works in bronze—the Rape of Persephone, also The Girl Spinning,^a and a Father Liber or Dionysus, with a figure of Drunkenness and also the famous Satyr, known by the Greek title Periboeos meaning 'Celebrated,' and the statues that used to be in front of the Temple of Happiness, and the Aphrodite, which was destroyed by fire when the temple of that goddess was burnt down in the reign of Claudius, and which rivalled the famous Aphrodite, in marble, that is known all over the world, also A Woman Bestowing a Wreath, A Woman Putting a Bracelet on her Arm,^b Autumn, Harmodius and Aristogeiton who slew the tyrant^c—the last piece^d carried off by Xerxes King of the Persians but restored to the Athenians by Alexander the Great after his conquest of Persia. Praxiteles also made a youthful Apollo called in Greek the Lizard-Slayer^e because he is waiting with an arrow

^a But the group carried off was by Antenor, and its restoration is attributed also to Seleucus I, and to Antiochus I. See note on pp 256-257

^b Degenerate copies of this still exist

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insidiantem, quem sauoctonon vocant spectantui et duo signa eius diversos adfectus experimentia, flentis mationae et mereticiis gaudentis hanc putant Phrynen fuisse deprehenduntque in ea amoem artificis et meicedem in vultu mereticiis
 71 habet simulacrum et benignitas eius, Calamidis enim quadrigae unigam suum imposuit, ne melior in equorum effigie defecisse in homine ciederetur ipse Calamis et alias quadrigas bigasque fecit equis semper¹ sine aemulo expressis, sed, ne videatur in hominum effigie inferior, Alcmena² nullius est nobilior

72 Alcmenes, Phidiae discipulus, et maimea fecit, sed aereum pentathlum, qui vocatur encrinomenos, at Polycliti discipulus Aistides quadrigas bigasque Amphicrates³ Leaena laudatur scortum haec, lyrae cantu familiaris Harmodio et Aristogitonis consilia eorum de tyrannicidio usque in mortem cruciata a tyriannis non prodidit, quam ob rem Athenienses, et honorem habere ei volentes nec tamen scortum celebrasse, animal nominis eius fecerunt atque, ut intellegretur causa honoris, in ope lingua addi ab artifice vetuerunt

¹ equis semper *cdd* (*sem̄ pari equis B*) se impari, equis
Traube

² alcmena *cd* *deperd ap Dalecamp Achamene edd vett*
 Alcman poeta *Eugenie Sellers alchimena aut alc̄m cdd*
 (*ulcamenet B¹ me et B²*)

³ iphicates *cd Par 6801 Tisicratis Hardouin*

^a Or, ‘received by her’ The exact meaning is not clear

^b Or perhaps ‘Undergoing the test’ for recognition as an athlete

^c Hippias and Thessalus of Athens after the killing of their brother, 514–13 B.C., cf § 70 above, and note

for a lizard creeping towards him Also two of his statues expressing opposite emotions are admired, his Mardon Weeping and his Merry Courtesan The latter is believed to have been Phryne and connoisseurs detect in the figure the artist's love of her and the reward promised him^a by the expression on the courtesan's face The kindness also of Piaxiteles is represented in sculpture, as in the Chariot and Four of Calamis he contributed the *Calamis* charioteer, in order that the sculptor might not be thought to have failed in the human figure although more successful in representing horses Calamis himself also made other chariots, some with four horses and some with two, and in executing the horses he is invariably unrivalled but—that it may not be supposed that he was inferior in his human figures—his Alcmena is as famous as that of any other sculptor

Alcamenes a pupil of Pheidias made marble figures, *Alcamenes* and also in bronze a Winner of the Five Bouts, known by the Greek term meaning Highly Commended,^b but Polyclitus's pupil Aristides made four-horse and pair-horse chariots Amphicrates is *Amphicrates* praised for his Leaena, she was a harlot, admitted to the friendship of Harmodius and Aristogeiton because of her skill as a harpist, who though put to the torture by the tyrants^c till she died refused to betray their plot to assassinate them Consequently the Athenians wishing to do her honour and yet unwilling to have made a harlot famous, had a statue made of a lioness, as that was her name, and to indicate the reason for the honour paid her instructed the artist to represent the animal as having no tongue

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- 73 Bryuvis Aesculapium et Seleucum¹ fecit Boedas
 adorantem, Baton Apollinem et Iunonem, qui sunt
 74 Romae in Concordiae templo, Ctesilas² volneratum
 deficientem in quo possit intellegi quantum restet
 animae, et Olympium Periclen dignum cognomine,
 mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobiores
 fecit Cephisodorus³ Minervam minabilem in portu
 Atheniensium et am ad templum Iovis Seivatoris
 in eodem portu, cui pauca comparentur, Canachus
 75 Apollinem nudum, qui Philesius cognominatus, in
 Didymaeo Aeginetici aeris temperatura cervumque
 una ita vestigis suspendit, ut linum⁴ subter pedes
 trahatur alteino morsu calce digitisque retinentibus
 solum, ita vertebrato ungue⁵ utrisque in partibus,
 ut a repulso per vices resiliat idem et celetizontas
 pueros, Chaereas Alexandrum Magnum et Philip-
 pum patrem eius fecit, Ctesilaus dorophoron et
 76 Amazonem volneratam, Demetius Lysimachen,
 quae sacerdos Minervae fuit **LXXXII** annis, idem et
 Minervam, quae mycetica⁶ appellatur—dracones⁷
 in Gorgone eius ad ictus citharae tinnitu resonant,—

¹ Salutem Hardouin

² ctesilas cd Leid Toss Ctesilaus Hardouin

³ Cephisodotus Hardouin

⁴ ut inlimum B

⁵ ungue aut pede aut vertebrata ungula Warmington
 dente

⁶ mycetica Traube mystica Ian mystica Frohner
 mycetica B musica rell

⁷ dracones B quoniam dracones rell

^a Probably Seleucus I, King 312–280 b c

^b Olympian,' 'High and Mighty,' as Pericles himself was
 called during his lifetime Copies of this, and the basis of the
 original still exist

Bryaxis made statues of Asclepius and Seleucus,^a Boedas a Man Praying, Baton an Apollo and a Hera both now in the Temple of Concord at Rome Ctesilas did a Man Fainting from Wounds the expression of which indicates how little life remains, and the Olympian Peaces, a figure worthy of its title^b, indeed it is a marvellous thing about the art of sculpture that it has added celebrity to men already celebrated Cephisodorus made the wonderful Athene at the harbour of Athens and the almost unrivalled altai at the temple of Zeus the Deliverer at the same harbour, Canachus the naked Apollo, surnamed Philesius, at Didyma, made of bronze compounded at Aegina^c, and with it he made a stag so lightly poised in its footprints as to allow of a thread being passed underneath its feet, the 'heel' and the 'toes' holding to the base with alternate contacts, the whole hoof being so jointed in either part that it springs back from the impact alternately^d He also made a Boys Riding on Race-horses Chæreas did Alexander the Great and his father Philip, Cteslaus a Man with a Spear and a Wounded Amazon, Demetrius Lysimache who was a priestess of Athene for 64 years, and also the Athene called the Murmuring Athene — the dragons on her Gorgon's head sound with a tinkling note when a harp is struck, he likewise did

^a Or, 'compounded on the Aeginetan formula' Cf § 10

^b Pliny is not clear, the MSS reading *dente* ('tooth' not 'ivory'?) is altered here to *ungue* by conjecture Perhaps he simply means that when the figure was rocked to and fro, a thread could be slipped under two feet From coins we know that the small stag was not on the ground but on the god's hand

^c The right reading is unknown

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idem equitem Simonem, qui primus de equitatu
 scupsit Daedalus, et ipse inter factores laudatus,
 pueros duos destringentes se fecit, Dinomenes
 77 Piotesilaum et Pythodemum luctatoem Euphia-
 nonis Alexander Paus est, in quo laudatur quod
 omnia simul intellegantur, iudea dearum, amatoe
 Helenae et tamen Achillis interfector huius est
 Minerva, Romae quae dicitur Catulana,¹ infra
 Capitolium a Q Lutatio dicata, et simulacrum Boni
 Eventus, dextra pateram, sinistra spicam ac papa-
 vera tenens, item Latona puerpera Apollinem et
 Dianam infantes sustinens in aede Concordiae
 78 fecit et quadrigas bigasque et cliduchon² eximia
 forma et Virtutem et Graeciam, uti asque colossaeas,
 mulierem admittantem et adorantem, item Alexandrum
 et Philippum in quadrigis, Eutychides Euro-
 tam, in quo artem ipso amne liquidorem pluim
 direte Hegiae Minerva Pyrihusque rex laudatur
 et celetizontes pueri et Castor ac Pollux ante aedem
 Iovis Tonantis, Hagesiae in Pario colonia Heicules,
 79 Isidot³ buthytes⁴ Lycius Myronis discipulus fuit,
 qui fecit dignum praeceptore puerum sufflantem
 languidos ignes et Argonautas, Leochares aquilam
 sentientem, quid iupiat in Ganymede et cui ferat,

¹ Catulina *Manutius*

² cliduchon *Hermclaus Barbarus* cliticon *B* cliticum *rell*

³ I l Isidori

⁴ Buthytes *B* Buthyres *rell* Eleuthereus *Hardouin*

^a In Greek Ἀγαθη Τυχη But it appears that the statue
 was one of Triptolemus re named as a Roman rustic divinity

^b Cf § 54

^c The river on which Sparta stood

^d c 318-272 B C But perhaps *rex*, king, should be deleted

^e Parium was made a Roman colony by Augustus

the mounted statue of Simon who wrote the first treatise on horsemanship. Dædalus (also famous as a modeller in clay) made Two Boys using a Body-Sciaper, and Dinomenes did a Piotesilaus and the wrestler Pythodemus. The statue of Alexander Paris is by Euphranor, it is praised because it conveys all the characteristics of Paris in combination—the judge of the goddesses, the lover of Helen and yet the slayer of Achilles. The Athene, called at Rome the Catuliana, which stands below the Capitol and was dedicated by Quintus Lutatius ^{78 B.C.} Catulus, is Euphranor's, and so is the figure of Success,^a holding a dish in the right hand and in the left an ear of corn and some poppies, and also in the temple of Concord a Leto as Nursing Mother, with the infants Apollo and Artemis in her arms. He also made four-horse and two-horse chariots, and an exceptionally beautiful Lady with the Keys,^b and two colossal statues, one of Virtue and one of Greece, a Woman Wondering and Worshipping, and also an Alexander and a Philip in four-horse chariots. Eutychides did a Eurotas,^c in which it has frequently been said that the work of the artist seems clearer than the water of the real river. The Athene and the King Pyrrhus^d of Hegias are praised, and his Boys Riding on Race-horses, and his Castor and Pollux that stand before the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer, and so are Hagesias's Heracles in our colony^e of Parium, and Isidotus's Man Sacrificing an Ox. Lycius who was a pupil of Myron did a Boy Blowing a Dying Fire that is worthy of his instructor, also a group of the Argonauts, Leochares an Eagle carrying off Ganymede in which the bird is aware of what his burden is and for whom he is

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parcentemque unguibus etiam per vestem puerο,¹
 Autolycum pancratiu² victorem, proptei quem
 Xenophon symposium scipsit, Iovemque illum
 Tonantem in Capitolo ante cuncta laudabilem, item
 Apollinem diadematum, Lyciscum,³ mangonem,⁴
 puerum subdolae ac fucatae vernilitatis, Lycius
 80 et ipse puerum suffitorem Menaechmi vitulus
 genu premitu replicata cervice ipse Menaechmus
 scipsit de sua aite Naucydes Mercurio et dis-
 cobolo et immolante arietem censem, Naucerus⁵
 luctatore anhelante,⁶ Niceratus Aesculapio et
 Hygia,⁷ qui sunt in Concoitiae templo Romae
 Pyromachi quadriga ab Alcibiade regitui Polycles
 Heimaphioditum nobilem fecit, Pyrrhus Hygiam
 81 et Minevam, Phanis, Lysippi discipulus, epithysu-
 san Styppax Cyprius uno celebratui signo,
 splanchnopte, Peniculis Olympii vernula hic fuit
 exta torrens ignemque ovis pleni spiritu accendens
 Silanion Apollodorum fudit, fictorem et ipsum, sed
 inter cunctos diligentissimum artis et iniquum
 sui iudicem, crebro perfecta signa frangentem,
 dum satiari cupiditate artis non quit, ideoque
 82 insanum cognominatum—hoc in eo expressit, nec

¹ puerο *B* puerum *rell*pancrati *B* pancratio *rell*³ lyciscum *B* luciscus *rell* Lyciscus Gelen⁴ mangonem *B* langonem *vel* lagonem *rell*⁵ Naucerus *coni* Hardouin⁶ *V l* luctatorem anhelantem (fecit add *edd* *vett*)⁷ Aesculapio et Hygia *coni* Ian aesculapium et hygiam
aut a h cdd Hygiam fecit Detlefsen

^a The banquet described in Xenophon's *Symposium* was given by Callias in honour of Autolycus's victory in the pentathlum at the Great Panathenaea in 422 B C

^b See § 74, note

carrying it, and is careful not to let his claws hurt the boy even through his clothes, and Autolycus Winner of the All-round Bout, being also the athlete in whose honour Xenophon wrote his *Banquet*,^a and the famous Zeus the Thunderer now on the Capitol, of quite unrivalled merit, also an Apollo crowned with a Diadem, also Lyciscus, the Slave-dealer, and a Boy, with the crafty crouching look of a household slave. Lycius also did a Boy Burning Perfumes There is a Bull-calf by Menæchmus, on which a man is pressing his knee as he bends its neck back, Menæchmus has written a treatise about his own work The reputation of Naucydes rests on his Hermes and Man throwing a Disc and Man Sacrificing a Ram, that of Naucerus on his Wiestler Winded, that of Niceratus on his Asclepius and his Goddess of Health, which are in the Temple of Concord at Rome Pyromachus has an Alcibiades Driving a Chariot and Four, Polycles made a famous Heimaphrodite, Pyrrhus, a Goddess of Health and an Athene, Phanis, who was a pupil of Lysippus, a Woman Sacrificing Styppax of Cyprus is known for a single statue, his Man Cooking Tripe, which represented a domestic slave of the Olympian^b Pericles roasting inwards and puffing out his cheeks as he kindles the fire with his breath, Silanion cast a metal figure of Apollodorus, who was himself a modeller, and indeed one of quite unrivalled devotion to the art and a severe critic of his own work, who often broke his statues in pieces after he had finished them, his intense passion for his art making him unable to be satisfied, and consequently he was given the surname of the Madman—this quality he brought out in his statue, the Madman, which

hominem ex aere fecit, sed nacundiam—et Achillem
 nobilem, item epistaten excentem athletas, Strongy-
 hon Amizonem, quam ab excellentia ciuium
 eucnemon appellant, ob id in comitatu Neionis
 principis circumlatam idem fecit puerum, quem
 amando Brutus Philippiensis cognomine suo inlusi-
 83 travit Theodorus, qui labyrinthum fecit Sami,
 ipse se ex aere fudit praeter similitudinis mu-
 bilem firmam¹ magna suptilitate celebratur² dexta
 limam tenet, laeva tribus digitis quadrigulam
 tenuit, tralatam Praeneste parvitatibus³ ut miraculum⁴
 pictam⁵ eam curiumque et auiigam integer et aliis
 simul facta musca Xenocrates, Tisicratis discipulus,
 ut alii, Euthycratis, vicit utiosque copia signorum
 et de sua arte composita volumina
 84 Plures artifices fecerunt Attali et Eumenis aduersus
 Gallos pioelia, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus,
 Antigonus qui volumina condidit de sua arte
 Boethi, quamquam argento melioris, infans umps-
 ando⁶ anserem strangulat atque ex omnibus, quae
 iettuli, clarissima quaeque in uibe iam sunt dicata a

¹ similitudinis mirabilem famam *B* similitudinem fama
rell s nobilem *f ed l vett*

² celebratur *J Muller* celebratus

³ parvitatibus *B* tantae p *rell*

⁴ miraculu *Mayhoff* ut miraculo *B* (*om* miraculo *rell*) ut
 mirum dictu *Traube* del ut *Urlichs*

⁵ pictam *B* totam *rell* fictam *Stuart Jones* pictam ut
Urliche

⁶ amplexando *Traube* annosum (*olim* vi annus) *Buecheler* vi annosum *Meister* vi *Külb* vi aenum *Boisacq*
 ex aere *H Stein* sexennis *O Jahn* ex animo *Ian* ulnis
Urlichs eximiū *Mayhoff* sex anno *B* sex annis *B-* eximiie
 aut eximiie *rell*

represented in bronze not a human being but angel personified Silanion also made a famous Achilles, and also a Superintendent Exercising Athletes, Strongylion made an Amazon, which from the remarkable beauty of the legs is called the Eucnemon, and which consequently the emperor Nero caused to be carried in his retinue on his journeys. The same sculptor made the figure rendered famous by Brutus under the name of Brutus's Boy because it represented a favourite of the hero of the battles at ^{42 BC} Philippi Theodosius, who constructed the Labyrinth ^a at Samos, cast a statue of himself in bronze. Besides its remarkable celebrity as a likeness, it is famous for its very minute workmanship, the right hand holds a file, and three fingers of the left hand originally held a little model of a chariot and four, but this has been taken away to Palestrina as a marvel of smallness if the team were reproduced in a picture with the chariot and the chariooteer, the model of a fly, which was made by the artist at the same time, would cover it with its wings. Xenocrates, who was a pupil of Tisicrates, or by other accounts of Euthycrates, surpassed both of the last mentioned in the number of his statues, and he also wrote books about his art.

Several artists have represented the battles of Attalus ^b and Eumenes against the Gauls, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus and Antigonus, who wrote books about his art. Boethus did a Child ^c Strangling a Goose by hugging it, although he is better in silver. And among the list of works I have referred to all the most celebrated have now been dedicated by the

^b Attalus I of Pergamum, who dealt with Gallic invaders of Asia Minor between 240 and 232 B C ^c Copies exist

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Vespasiano principe in templo Pacis aliisque eius
opeibus, violentia Neronis in urbem convecta et in
sellariis domus aureae disposita

- 85 Piaeterea sunt aequalitate celebati artifices, sed nullis operum suorum piaecipui, Ariston, qui et uigentum caelare solitus est, Callides,¹ Ctesias, Cantharus Sicyonius, Dionysius, Diodorus² Critiae discipulus, Deliades, Euphorion Eunicus et Hecataeus, argenti caelatores, Lesbocles, Prodorus, Pythodicus, Polygnotus, idem pictor e nobilissimis,³ item e caelatoribus Stratonicus, Scymnus Critiae discipulus
- 86 Nunc percensebo eos, qui eiusdem generis opera fecerunt, ut Apollodorus, Androbulus, Asclepiodorus, Aleuas philosophos, Apellas et adorantes⁴ se⁵ feminas, Antignotus et [luctatores,]⁶ perixyomenum, tyrannicidasque supia dictos Antimachus, Athenodorus feminas nobiles, Aistodemus et luctatores bigasque cum auriga, philosophos, anus, Seleucum regem habet gratiam suam huius quoque doiy-
- 87 phoius Cephisodoti duo fueri prioris est Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriendis, fecit et contionantem manu elata—persona in incerto est, sequens philosophos fecit Colotes, qui cum Phidia Iovem Olympium fecerat, philosophos, item Cleon

¹ callases cd Par 6801 Callicles Urlich's Calliades Hardouin

- Dionysius, Diodorus Detlefsen diodorus B dionysio dorus aut dionysodorus rell

³ V l idem pictores nobilissimi ⁴ V l adorantes

⁵ se cd Leid Voss om rell

⁶ et luctatores cdd om luctatores B, cd Par Lat 6797

emperor Vespasian in the Temple of Peace and his ^{AD 75} other public buildings, they had been looted by Nero, who conveyed them all to Rome and arranged them in the sitting-rooms of his Golden Mansion

Besides these, artists on the same level of merit but of no outstanding excellence in any of their works are Ariston, who often also practised chasing silver, Callides, Ctesias, Cantharus of Sicyon, Dionysius, Diodorus the pupil of Critias, Dehades, Euphorion, Eunicus and Hecataeus the silver chasers, Lesbocles, Prodorus, Pythodorus, Polygnotus, who was also one of the most famous among painters, similarly Stratonicus among chasers, and Critias's pupil Scymnus

I will now run through the artists who have made works of the same class, such as Apollodorus, Androbulus and Asclepiodorus, Aleuas, who have done philosophers, and Apellas also women donning their ornaments, and Antignotus also Man using a Body-scraper and the Men ^a that Slew the Tyrant, above-mentioned, Antimachus, Athenodorus who made splendid figures of women, Aristodemus who also did Wrestlers, and Chariot and Pair with Driver, figures of philosophers, of old women, and King Seleucus, Aristodemus's Man holding Spear is also popular There were two artists named Cephisodotus, the Hermes Nursing Father Liber or Dionysos when an Infant belongs to the elder, who also did a Man Haranguing with Hand Uplifted—whom it represents is uncertain The later Cephisodotus did philosophers Colotes who had co-operated with Pheidias in the Olympian §§ 49, 54 Zeus made statues of philosophers, as also did Cleon

^a Harmodius and Aristogeiton See §§ 70, 72

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

et Cenchramis¹ et Callicles et Cepis, Chalcosthenes²
 et comoedos et athletas, Daippus pernyomenon,
 Daiphion et Damocritus et Daemon philosophos
 88 Epigonus omnia feie praedicta imitatus praecessit
 in tubicine et matu interfictae infante miserabiliter
 blandiente Lubuli mulier admixans laudatur, Eu-
 bulidis digitis computans Micon athletis spectatur,
 Menogenes quadrigis Nec minus Niceratus omnia,
 quae ceteri, adgressus representavit Alcibiaden
 lampidumque accensu matrem eius Demaraten
 89 sacrificantem Tisicratis bigae Piston mulierem
 imposuit, idem fecit Martem et Mercurium, qui sunt
 in Concordiae templo Romae Perillum nemo
 laudet saeviorem Phalaide tyranno, cui taurum
 fecit mugitus inclusi³ hominis pollicitus igni subdito
 et⁴ primus expertus cruciatum eum iustiore saevitia
 huc a simulacris deorum hominumque devocaverat
 humanissimam artem ideo tot conditores eius
 laboravent, ut ex ea tormenta fierent! itaque una
 de causa servantur opera eius, ut quisquis illa videat,
 90 oderit manus Sthennis Cererem, Iovem, Minervam
 fecit, qui sunt Romae in Concordiae templo, idem

¹ Cenchramus Overbeck² calcostenes B Caecosthenes (=Καικοσθενης) Overbeck³ inclusi add Mayhoff⁴ et B vll ex, est exprimere Detlefsen^a This should be Dinomache

and Cenchi amis and Callicles and Cepis, Chalco-
 sthenes also did actors in comedy and athletes,
 Daippus a Man using a Scraper, Daiphion
 Damocritus and Daemon statues of philosophers
 Epigonus, who copied others in almost all the subjects
 already mentioned, took the lead with his Trumpet-
 player and his Weeping Infant pitifully caressing
 its Murdered Mother Praise is given to Eubulus's
 Woman in Admiration and to Eubulides's Person
 Counting on the Fingers Micon is noticed for his
 athletes and Menogenes for his chariots and four
 Nicetatus, who likewise attempted all the subjects
 employed by any other sculptor, did a statue of
 Alcibiades and one of his mother Demarate, represented
 as performing a sacrifice by torch-light
 Tisiciates did a pan-horse chariot in which Piston
 afterwards placed a woman, the latter also made
 an Ares and a Hermes now in the Temple of Concord
 at Rome No one should praise Perillus, who was c. 570 BC
 more cruel than the tyrant Phalaris, for whom he
 made a bull, guaranteeing that if a man were shut
 up inside it and a fire lit underneath the man would
 do the bellowing, and he was himself the first to
 experience this torture—a cruelty more just than
 the one he proposed Such were the depths to
 which the sculptor had diverted this most humane
 of arts from images of gods and men! All the
 founders of the art had only toiled so that it should
 be employed for making implements of torture!
 Consequently this sculptor's works are preserved
 for one purpose only, so that whoever sees them
 may hate the hands that made them Sthennis did
 a Demeter, a Zeus and an Athene that are in the
 Temple of Concord at Rome, and also Weeping

- flentes mationas et adorantes sacrificantesque
 - Simon canem et sagittarium fecit, Stratonicus
 91 caelatori ille philosophos, copas¹ uterque,² athletas
 autem et airmatos et venatores sacrificantesque Baton,
 Euchru, Glaucides, Heliodorus, Hicanus, Iophon,³
 Lyson, Leon, Menodorus, Myagrus, Polycrates,
 Polvidus,⁴ Pythocritus, Piatogenes, idem pictor e
 clarissimis, ut dicemus, Patrocles,⁵ Pollos, Posidonius,
 qui et aargentum caelavit nobilitati, natione Ephesius,
 Peirulymenus, Philon, Symenus, Timotheus, Theom-
 nestus, Timaichides, Timon, Tisias, Thrason
 92 Ex omnibus autem maxime cognomine insignis est
 Callimachus, semper calumniator sui nec finem
 habentis diligentiae, ob id cataxitechnus appellatus,
 memorabili⁶ exemplo adhibendi et curiae
 modum huius sunt saltantes Lacaenae, emendatum
 opus, sed in quo gratiam omnem diligentia abstulerint
 hunc quidem et pictorem fuisse tradunt non aene
 captus nec arte, unam tantum Zenonis statuam
 Cypria expeditione non vendidit Cato, sed qua
 philosophi erat, ut obiter hoc quoque noscatur tam
 insigne⁷ exemplum
 93 In mentione statuarum est et una non praeter-

¹ copas *Gerhard* scopas² uterque *cdd* (utrosque *B¹*, utraque *B²*) utrasque *edd*
vett³ Iophon *Urlichs* Leophon *Sillig* Herophon *Loewy*
olophon *B* lophon *rell*⁴ Polydorus *Hermolaus Barbarus*⁵ Patroclus *coni* *Sillig* *coll* § 50⁶ memorabili *B*, *cd* *Par* 6801 memorabilis *rell*⁷ insigne *Pintianus* inane^a The doubtful text may contain the name Scopas, see
critical notes^b καταπηξιτεχνος one who wastes his skill in dribbles

Matrons and Matrons at Playe^r and Offering a Sacrifice Simon made a Dog and an Aiche^r, the famous engraver Stratonicus some philosophers and each of these artists made figures of hostesses of inns ^a The following have made figures of athletes, armed men, hunters and men offering sacrifice Baton, Euchir, Glaucides, Heliodorus, Hicanus, Iophon, Lyson, Leon, Menodorus, Myagrus, Polycrates, Polyidus, Pythocritus, Protogenes (who was also, as we shall say later, one of the most famous painters), Paticles, ^{sqq} Pollio and Posidonius (the last also a distinguished silver chaser, native of Ephesus), Peuclymenus, Philo, Symenus, Timotheus, Theomnestus, Timaichides, Timon, Tisias, Thraso

But of all Callimachus is the most remarkable, ^{for c 400 BC} because of the surname attached to him he was always unfailingly critical of his own work, and was an artist of ^b assiduity, and consequently he was ^c and is a notable warning of the duty of observing moderation even in taking pains To him belongs the Laconian Women Dancing, a very finished work but one in which assiduity has destroyed all charm Callimachus is reported to have also been a painter Cato in his expedition to Cyprus sold all the statues found there ^{5-56 BC} except one of Zeno, it was not the value of the bronze nor the artistic merit that attracted him, but its being the statue of a philosopher I mention this by the way, to introduce this distinguished instance also

In mentioning statues—there is also one we must

^a The MSS give ‘this empty example,’ explained as implying that Cato neglected the example set by his great grandfather, Cato the Censor who disliked the Greeks

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eunda, quamquam auctoris incerti, iuxta iostia,
 - Heiculis tunicati, sola eo habitu Romae, tertia facie
 sentiensque¹ suprema tunicae² in hac dies sunt
 tituli L Luculli imperatoris de manubus, alteri
 pupillum Luculli filium ex S C dedicasse, tertius
 T Septimium Sabinum aed cui ex privato in
 publicum restituisse tot certaminum tuncque
 dignationis simulacrum id fuit

94 XX Nunc piae retemui³ ad differentias aeris et
 mixturas in Cyprio [coronarium et regulare est
 utrumque ductile]⁴ coronarium tenuatum in lumnas,
 taurorumque felle tintum speciem aurum in coronis
 histionum praebet, idemque in uncias additis auri
 scripulis sensis praetenui pyropi bratlea ignescit
 regulare et in aliis fit metallis, itemque caldarium
 differentia quod caldarium funditur tantum, malleis
 fragile, quibus regulare obsequitur ab aliis ductile
 appellatum, quale omne Cyprium est sed et in
 ceteris metallis curia distat a caldario, omne enim
 diligentius purgatis igni virtus excoctisque regulare
 95 est In reliquis generibus palma Campano perhi-

¹ sentiensque *B* sentientique *rell* sentienteque *edd* *vett*

² tunicae *B* tunica *rell* in tunica *edd* *vett*

³ *Vl* revertetur

⁴ coronarium ductile *cd* *Ind* *om* *rell*

^a *I e* the poisoned garment that caused his death

^b In campaigns against Mithridates, 74-67 BC

not pass over in spite of the sculptor's not being known—the figure, next to the Beaked Platform of Heracles in the Tunic,^a the only one in Rome that shows him in that dress, the countenance is stern and the statue expresses the feeling of the final agony of the tunic. On this statue there are three inscriptions, one stating that it had been part of the booty taken ^b by the general Lucius Lucullus, and another saying that it was dedicated, in pursuance of a decree of the Senate, by Lucullus's son while still a ward, and the third, that Titus Septimius Sabinus as curule ædile had caused it to be restored to the public from private ownership. So many were the rivalries connected with this statue and so highly was it valued.

XX But we will now turn our attention particularly to the various forms of copper, and its blends. In the case of the copper of Cyprus 'chaplet copper' is made into thin leaves, and when dyed with ox-gall gives the appearance of gilding on theatrical property coronets, and the same material mixed with gold in the proportion of six scruples of gold to the ounce makes a very thin plate called pyropus, 'fire-coloured' and acquires the colour of fire. Bar copper also is produced in other mines, and likewise fused copper. The difference between them is that the latter can only be fused, as it breaks under the hammer, whereas bar copper, otherwise called ductile copper, is malleable, which is the case with all Cyprus copper. But also in the other mines, this difference of bar copper from fused copper is produced by treatment, for all copper after impurities have been rather carefully removed by fire and melted out of it becomes bar copper. Among the remaining kinds

*Various
forms and
blends of
copper and
bronze*

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

betui,¹ utensibus vasis² probatissimo pluribus fit hoc modis namque Capuae liquatur non carbonis ignibus sed ligni, prigaturque roboreo cribro³ profusum in⁴ aquam frigidam ac saepius simili modo coquitur, novissime additis plumbi aargentari Hispaniensis denis libris in centenas aeis ita lentescit color emque iucundum trahit, qualem in aliis generibus 96 aeis affectant oleo ac sale fit Campano¹ simile in multis partibus Italiae provincisque, sed octonas plumbi libras addunt et carbone recocunt propter inopiam ligni quantum ea res differentiae adferat, in Gallia maxime sentitur, ubi inter lapides candelictos funditur, exiente enim coctura nigrum atque fragile conficitur praeterea semel recocunt quod saepius fecisse bonitati plurimum conferit id quoque notasse non ab i e est, aes omne frigore magno melius fundi

97 Sequens temperatura statuaria est eademque tabularis hoc modo massa proflatui in primis, mox in proflatum additui tertia portio reis collectanei, hoc est ex usu coempti peculiare in eo condimentum attritu domiti et consuetudine nitoris veluti mansuefacti miscentur et plumbi argentarii pondo 98 duodena ac selibrae centenis proflatii Appellatur

¹ perhibetur campano (§ 96 init.) B. om. tell.

² vasorum coni Warmington coll XIII 72

³ ligno K C Bailey

⁴ in add K C Bailey perfusum aqua frigida Silling

^a Tin and lead mixed in equal parts

^b Possibly mineral coal

of copper the palm goes to bronze of Campania which is most esteemed for utensils There are several ways of preparing it At Capua it is smelted in a fire of wood, not of charcoal, and then poured into cold water and cleaned in a sieve made of oak, and this process of smelting is repeated several times, at the last stage Spanish silver lead ^a being added to it in the proportion of ten pounds to one hundred pounds of copper this treatment renders it pliable and gives it an agreeable colour of a kind imparted to other sorts of copper and bronze by means of oil and salt Bronze resembling the Campanian is produced in many parts of Italy and the provinces, but there they add only eight pounds of lead, and do additional smelting with charcoal ^b because of their shortage of wood The difference produced by this is noticed specially in Gaul, where the metal is smelted between stones heated red hot, as this roasting scorches it and renders it black and friable Moreover they only smelt it again once whereas to repeat this several times contributes a great deal to the quality It is also not out of place to notice that all copper and bronze fuses better in very cold weather

The proper blend for making statues is as follows, *Blends for statues and moulds* and the same for tablets at the outset the ore is melted, and then there is added to the melted metal a third part of scrap copper, that is copper or bronze that has been bought up after use This contains a peculiar seasoned quality of brilliance that has been subdued by friction and so to speak tamed by habitual use Silver-lead is also mixed with it in the proportion of twelve and a half pounds to every hundred pounds of the fused metal There is also

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

etiamnum et formalis temperatura aeris tenebrimi,
quoniam nigri plumbi decima portio additum et
viginti vicesima, maximeque ita colorem bibit,
quem Graecanicum vocant Novissima est quae
vocatur olla vase nomen hoc dante, termis aut
quatenus libris plumbi aargentini in centenas aeris
additis Cyprio si addatur plumbum, colos purpurae
fit in statuum praetextis

99 XXI Aeris extesa iobiginem celarius trahunt
quam neglecta, nisi oleo perunguantur servari
ea optime in liquida pice tradunt usus aeris ad
perpetuitatem monumentorum iam pridem trialatus
est tabulis aereis, in quibus publicae constitutiones
incidentur

100 XXII Metalla aeris multis modis instruunt medici-
nam, utpote cum ulceris omnia ibi occissime sanen-
tum, maxime tamen prodest¹ cadmea fit sine dubio
haec et in argenti fornacibus, candidior ac minus
ponderosa, sed nequaquam comparanda aerariae
plura autem genera sunt namque ut ipse lapis, ex
quo fit aes, cadmea vocatur, fusus necessarius
medicinae inutilis, sic iusus in fornacibus existit
101 alia, quae² originis suae nomen³ recipit fit autem

¹ prodest cf Par 6801, cd Flor Ricc ² prosunt rell

² alia quae aut aliamque cld alaque aliam J Muller

³ originis suae nomen Mayhoff nominis sui originem cld
item Isid XVI 20 12

^a A blend for making moulds

^b The colour is in fact green One expects the word
aeruginem here

^c See the next two notes

^d Cf § 2 of this book (p 126), mineral calamine and smith-
sonite = silicate and carbonate of zinc

^e Furnace calamine = oxide of zinc Cf K C Bailey, *The
Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects*, II, pp 166-7

in addition what is called the mould-blend^a of bronze of a very delicate consistency, because a tenth part of black lead is added and a twentieth of silver-lead, and this is the best way to give it the colour called Græcanic 'after the Greek' The last kind is that called pot-bronze, taking its name from the vessels made of it, it is a blend of three or four pounds of silver-lead with every hundred pounds of copper. The addition of lead to Cyprus copper produces the purple colour seen in the bordered robes of statues.

XXI Things made of copper or bronze get *Copper rust* covered with copper-rust^b more quickly when they are kept rubbed clean than when they are neglected, unless they are well greased with oil. It is said that the best way of preserving them is to give them a coating of liquid vegetable pitch. The employment of bronze was a long time ago applied to securing the perpetuity of monuments, by means of bronze tablets on which records of official enactments are made.

XXII Copper ores and mines supply medicaments in a variety of ways inasmuch as in their neighbourhood all kinds of ulcers are healed with the greatest rapidity, yet the most beneficial is *cadmea*^c. This is certainly also produced in furnaces where silver is smelted, this kind being whiter and not so heavy, but it is by no means to be compared with that from copper. There are however several varieties, for while the mineral itself^d from which the metal is made is called *cadmea*, which is necessary for the fusing process but is of no use for medicine, so again another kind^e is found in furnaces, which is given a name indicating its origin. It is produced by the thinnest

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

egesta flammis atque flatu tenuissima parte materna
 et camalis lateribusque fornacium pro quantitate
 levitatis adplicata tenuissima est in ipso fornacium
 ore quam flammea eructarunt,¹ appellata capnitis,
 exusta et nimia levitate similis favillae interior
 optima, camalis dependens et ab eo argumento
 botrys nominata, pondeosior haec priore, levior
 102 secuturis—duo eius colores, deteriori cinereus, pumicis
 melior —, fribilis oculorumque medicamentis utilis-
 sima tercia est in lateribus fornacium, quae propter
 gravitatem ad camalias pervenire non potuit haec
 dicitur placitis, et ipsa ab argumento planitiei²
 crusta verius quam pumex, intus varia, ad psorias
 103 utilior et cicatrices trahendas fiunt³ ex ea duo
 alia genera, onychitis extra paene caeruleae, intus
 onychis maculis similis, ostracitis tota nigra et e-
 ceteris solidissima, vulneribus maxime utilis
 omnis autem cadmea, in Cypri⁴ fornacibus optima,
 iterum a medicis coquitur carbone puro atque,
 ubi in cinerem reddit, extinguitur vino Ammineo quae
 ad emplastia praeparatur, quae vero ad psorias, aceto
 104 quidam in ollis fictilibus tusam urunt et lavant in

¹ *Vil* quae aut que aut qua flamma eructatur aut eructantur
aut fluctuantur eructarunt *Mayhoff*

planitiei *Salmasus* planitie

³ fiunt *B* fluunt *rell*

⁴ *Cyprus coni Mayhoff* cyprio aut cypria aut cypri

part of the substance being separated out by the flames and the blast and becoming attached in proportion to its degree of lightness to the roof-chambers and side-walls of the furnaces, the thinnest being at the very mouth of the furnace, which the flames have belched out, it is called 'smoky *cadmea*' from its burnt appearance and because it resembles hot white ash in its extreme lightness. The part inside is best, hanging from the vaults of the roof-chamber, and this consequently is designated 'grape-cluster *cadmea*' this is heavier than the preceding kind but lighter than those that follow—it is of two colours, the inferior kind being the colour of ash and the better the colour of pumice—and it is friable, and extremely useful for making medicaments for the eyes. A third sort is deposited on the sides of furnaces, not having been able to reach the vaults because of its weight, this is called in Greek 'placitis,' 'caked residue,' in this case by reason of its flatness, as it is more of a crust than pumice, and is mottled inside, it is more useful for itch-scabs and for making wounds draw together into a scar. Of this kind are formed two other varieties, onychitis which is almost blue outside but inside like the spots of an onyx or layered quartz, and ostracitis 'shell-like residue' which is all black and the dirtiest of any of the kinds, this is extremely useful for wounds. All kinds of *cadmea* (the best coming from the furnaces of Cyprus) for use in medicine are heated again on a fire of pure charcoal and, when it has been reduced to ash, if being prepared for plasters it is quenched with Ammenean wine, but if intended for itch-scabs with vinegar. Some people pound it and then burn it in earthenware pots, wash it in

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

moītarus postea siccant Nymphodorus lapidem ipsum quam gravissimum spississimumque urit prius et exustum Chio vino iestinguit tunditque, moī hinc cibiat atque in mortario terit, moī aqua pluvia macerat iterumque tenet quod subsedit, donec celiussae simile fiat, nulla dentium offensā eadem Iollae iatio, sed quam purissimum eligit lapidem
 105 LXIII cadmeae effectus siccae, persanare, sistere flunctiones, pterygia et sordes oculorum purgare, scabritiam extenuare et quidquid in plumbi effectu dicemus

Et aes ipsum uritur ad omnia eadem, praeterque albugines oculorum et cicatrices, ulcea quoque oculorum cum lacte sanat, itaque Aegypti collyri
 106 id modo tenunt in coticulis facit et vomitiones e melle sumptum uirur autem Cyprium in fictilibus crudis cum sulphuris puri pondere, vasorum¹ circum hinc spiramento, in caminis, donec vasa ipsa percoquantur quidam et salem addunt, aliqui alumem pro sulphure, aliū nihil, sed aceto tantum aspergunt ustum tenetur in² mortario Thebaico, aqua pluvia lavatur iterumque adiecta largiore tenetur et, dum considerat, relinquitur, hoc saepius, donec ad speciem

¹ vasorum Mayhoff vaso aut vase
² in add Mayhoff

^a A medical man of the third century B.C.

mortis and afterwards dry it Nymphodorus ^a process is to burn on hot coals the most heavy dense piece of *cadmea* that can be obtained, and when it is thoroughly burnt to quench it with Chian wine, and pound it, and then to sift it through a linen cloth and grind it in a mortar, and then macerate it in rainwater and again grind the sediment that sinks to the bottom till it becomes like white lead and offers no grittiness to the teeth Iollas' ^b method is the same, but he selects the purest specimens of native *cadmea* XXIII The effect of *cadmea* is to dry moisture, to heal lesions, to stop discharges, to cleanse inflamed swellings and foul sores in the eyes, to remove eruptions, and to do everything that we shall specify in dealing with the effect of lead

Copper itself is roasted to use for all the same purposes and for white-spots and scars in the eyes besides, and mixed with milk it also heals ulcers in the eyes, and consequently people in Egypt make a kind of eye-salve by grinding it in small mortars Taken with honey it also acts as an emetic but for this Cyprian copper with an equal weight of sulphur is roasted in pots of unbaked earthenware, the mouth of the vessels being smeared round with oil, and then left in the furnace till the vessels themselves are completely baked Certain persons also add salt, and some use alum instead of sulphur, while others add nothing at all, but only sprinkle the copper with vinegar When burnt it is pounded in a mortar of Theban stone, washed with rainwater, and then again pounded with the addition of a larger quantity of water, and left till it settles, and this process is repeated several times, till it is reduced

^b A Bithynian medical writer of unknown date

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

minui redeat tunc siccatum in sole in aere pyramid
servatur

107 XXIV Et scoria aeris simil modo lavatur, minore¹
effectu quam ipsum aes sed et aeis flos medicinae
utilis est fit aere fuso et in alias fornaces tralato,
ibi flatu crebre exequuntur veluti milii squamae,
quas vocant florem, cadunt autem, cum panes aeris
aqua refugiantur, rubentque similiter squamae
terris, quam vocant lepida et sic adulteratur flos, ut
squama veneat pro eo est autem squama aeis
decussa vi clavis, in quos panes aerei feruminantur,
in Cypri maxime officinis omnis² differentia haec
est, quod squama excutitur ictu isdem panibus, flos
108 cadit sponte squamae est alterum genus suptilius,
ex summa scilicet lanugine decussum, quod vocant
stomoma

XXV Atque haec omnia medici—quod pace
eorum divisse liceat—ignorant parent³ nominibus
in tantum⁴ a conficiendis medicaminibus absunt,
quod esse proprium medicinae solebat nunc quotiens
incidere in libellos, componere ex iis volentes
aliqua, hoc est impendio miserorum experiri⁵ com-
mentaria,⁶ credunt Seplasiae omnia fraudibus cor-

¹ minor cdd fere omnes

² omnis Mayhoff (qui et summa coni) omnia

³ parent Urlich's paret B pars maior et rell p m paret
Detlefsen³⁻⁴ parent nominibus hi tantum coni Mayhoff

⁵ Vl expediri

⁶ commentariaque B supra post libellos trans Urlich's

^a The dross produced when the ore is fused

^b Probably in the main red cuprous oxide (not black
cupric oxide) with some metallic copper in it

^c Seplasia was the special quarter of Capua where perfumes
were sold

to the appearance of cinnabar, then it is dried in the sun and put to keep in a copper box

XXIV The slag ^a of copper is also washed in the same way, but it is less efficacious than copper itself. The flower ^b of copper also is useful as a medicine. It is made by fusing copper and then transferring it to other furnaces, where a faster use of the bellows makes the metal give off layers like scales of millet, which are called the flower. Also when the sheets of copper are cooled off in water they shed off other scales of copper of a similar red hue—this scale is called by the Greek word meaning ‘husk’—and by this process the flower is adulterated, so that the scale is sold as a substitute for it—the genuine flower is a scale of copper forcibly knocked off with bolts into which are welded cakes of the metal, specially in the factories of Cyprus. The whole difference is that the scale is detached from the cakes by successive hammerings, whereas the flower falls off of its own accord. There is another finer kind of scale, the one knocked off from the down-like surface of the metal, the name for which is ‘stomoma’.

XXV But of all these facts the doctors, if they will permit me to say so, are ignorant—they are governed by names so detached they are from the process of making up drugs, which used to be the special business of the medical profession. Nowadays whenever they come on books of prescriptions, wanting to make up some medicines out of them, which means to make trial of the ingredients in the prescriptions at the expense of then unhappy patients, they rely on the fashionable druggists’ shops ^c which spoil everything with fraudulent adulterations, and for a long time they have been

*Slag scales
and flower of
copper*

1umpenti iam pridem¹ facta emplastia et collyria
mercantur, tabesque mercum aut frustis Seplasiae sic
exhibetur^{1,2}

109 Et squama autem et flos uiuntur in patinis fictilibus
aut aeis dein lavantur ut supra ad eosdem usus
squama³ et amplius namum carnosam vitia, item sedis
et gravitates aurium per fistulam in eas flatu impulsa
et uvas oris fauina admota tollit et tonsillas cum
melle fit ex candido aere squama longe Cypria
inefficacior nec non uina pueri prius macerant
clavos panesque quidam excussu squamam, terun-
que et aqua pluvia lavant dant et hydiopicis eam
drachmis ii in mulsi hemina et inlinunt cum polline

110 XXVI Aeruginis quoque magnus usus est pluri-
bus fit modis namque et lapidi, ex quo coquitur
aes, deraditur, et aere candido perforato atque in
cadis suspenso super acetum acie optuiatumque
operculo multo probatio est, si hoc idem squamis
fiat quidam visa ipsa candidi aeis fictilibus con-

111 dunt in acetum raduntque decumo die alii vinaceis
contegunt totidemque post dies radunt alii delima-
tam aeis scobem aceto spargunt versantque spathis
siepius die, donec absumatur eandem scobem

¹ pridem edd vett quidem

² sic exhibetur Warmington sic excitetur Mayhoff (qui et
excitatur coni) exsiccatur coni Silli sicce taxetur Ian
alii alia sic cavitetur B¹ sicce sane duret B² sic exteritur
rell recte²

³ squama Mayhoff que cd Leid Toss, cd Flor Ricc
om yell

^a Or, if we read *exteritur* (is ground out), 'finds its way into
the mortar' (thus K C Bailey)

^b Brass ^c Basic copper carbonate

^d Basic copper acetate or true verdigris, which does not
occur in a natural state

buying plasters and eye-salves ready made, and thus is deteriorated rubbish of commodities and the fraud of the druggists' trade put on show ^a

Both scale however and flower of copper are burnt in earthenware or copper pans and then washed, as described above, to be applied to the same purposes, § 106 the scale also in addition removes fleshy troubles in the nostrils and also in the anus and dullness of hearing if forcibly blown into the ears through a tube, and, when applied in the form of powder, removes swellings of the uvula, and, mixed with honey, swellings of the tonsils. There is a scale from white copper ^b that is far less efficacious than the scale from Cyprus, and moreover some people steep the bolts and cakes of copper beforehand in a bov's urine when they are going to detach the scale, and pound them and wash them with rainwater. It is also given to diopsical patients in doses of two drams in half a sextarius of honey-wine, and mixed with fine flour it is applied as a liniment.

XXVI Great use is also made of verdigris ^{Verdigris}. There are several ways of making it, it ^c is scraped off the stone from which copper is smelted, or by ^d drilling holes in white copper ^b and hanging it up in casks over strong vinegar which is stopped with a lid, the verdigris is of much better quality if the same process is performed with scales of copper. Some people put the actual vessels, made of white copper, into vinegar in earthenware jars, and nine days later scrape them. Others cover the vessels with grape-skins and scrape them after the same interval, others sprinkle copper filings with vinegar and several times a day turn them over with spattles till the copper is completely dissolved. Others

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

ali teiere in mortuis aereis ex aceto malunt
 occissime vero contingit coronarium recisamentis in
 112 acetum id¹ additis adulterant marmore trito
 maxime Rhodium aeruginem, ali pumice aut
 cummi piaecipue autem fallit atiamento sutorio
 adulterata, cetera enim dente deprehenduntur
 studentia in fiendendo experimentum in vatillo
 ferreo, nam quae sincera est, suum colorem retinet,
 quae mixta atramento, rubescit deprehenditur et
 papyro galla prius maceciato, nigrescit enim statim
 aerugine inlita deprehenditur et visu maligne
 113 viens sed sive sinceram sive adulteram² aptissimum
 est elui siccataque in patina nova uiu ac
 versari, donec favilla fiat, postea teritur ac re-
 condituri aliqui in crudis fictilibus urunt, donec
 lignum percoquatur nonnulli et tus masculum
 admiscent lavatur autem aerugo sicut cadmea
 vis eius collyriis oculorum aptissima et delacrima-
 tionibus moindendo proficiens, sed ablui necessarium
 penicillis calidis, donec iodere desinat

114 XXVII Hieracium vocatur collyrium, quod ea³
 maxime constat temperatur autem id ham-

¹ seclud id K C Bailey

² I l adulteratam

³ ea Mayhoff illa quidam apud Dalecamp ita

^a Used for colouring leather The term probably includes both green vitriol or ferrous sulphate, which is our copperas, and blue vitriol, or cupric sulphate

^b This is not true

^c Or sponges

^d As K C Bailey rightly says, not *sal Hammoniacus* (a

prefer to grind copper filings mixed with vinegar in copper mortars. But the quickest result is obtained by adding to the vinegar shavings of coronet copper. Rhodian verdigris is adulterated chiefly with pounded marble, though others use pumicestone or gum. But the adulteration of verdigris that is the most difficult to detect is done with shoemakers' black,^a the other adulterations being detected by the teeth as they crackle when chewed. Verdigris can be tested on a hot fire-shovel, as a specimen that is pure keeps^b its colour, but what is mixed with shoemakers' black turns red. It is also detected by means of papyrus previously steeped in an infusion of plantgall, as this when smeared with genuine verdigris at once turns black. It can also be detected by the eye, as it has an evil green colour. But whether pure or adulterated, the best way is to wash it and when it is dry to burn it on a new pan and keep turning it over till it becomes glowing ashes, and afterwards it is crushed and put away in store. Some people burn it in raw earthenware vessels till the earthenware is baked through, some mix in also some male frankincense. Verdigris is washed in the same way as *cadmea* § 106. Its powerfulness is very well suited for eye-salves and its mordant action makes it able to produce watering at the eyes, but it is essential to wash it off with swabs^c and hot water till its bite ceases to be felt.

XXVII Hieanax's Salve is the name given to an eye-salve chiefly composed of verdigris. It is made by mixing together four ounces of gum of Hammon,^d

(variety of common salt, which itself is not sal ammoniac = ammonium chloride)

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

moniaci uncus IIII, aeruginis Cypriae II, at iamenti
sutorii, quod chalcanthum vocant, totidem, misyos
una, ceci VI haec omnia trita aceto Thasio
colliguntur¹ in pilulas, excellentis remediis contra
initia glaucomatum et suffusionum, contra calgines
aut scabritias et albugines et genarium vitia cruda

115 autem aerugo vulneraris emplastiis miscetur
etiam gingivarumque exulcerationes mirifice emen-
dat et labiorum ulcera cum oleo quod si et cer-
addatur, purgat et ad cicatricem perducit aerugo
et collum fistularum erodit vitiorumque circa sedem
sive per se sive cum hammoniaco inlita vel collyrii
modo in fistulas adacta eadem cum resinae te-
binthinae tertia parte subacta lepias tollit

16 XXVIII Est et alterum genus aeruginis, quam vo-
cant scoleca, in Cyprio <mortario Cyprio>² aere trito³
alumine et sale aut nitro paui pondere cum aceto albo
quam acerimo non fit hoc nisi aestuosissimis⁴
diebus circa canis oitum tenetur autem, donec vnde
fiat contrahatque se vermiculorum specie, unde
et nomen quod vitiatum⁵ ut emendetur, II partes
quam fuere acetii miscentur unae pueri in pubis
idem autem in medicamentis et santerna efficit,
qua dirimus aurum feruminari usus utriusque qui

¹ collinuntur *B*

- <mortario Cyprio> coni *Mayhoff*

³ trito *B* intrito *cl Flor Ricc* hic trito *rell* hoc t
ed vett

⁴ aestuosissimis *B*

⁵ vitiatum *Mayhoff* vitium

^a Copper pyrites

^b See pp 210-1, note ^d

^c This sentence is probably defective

two of Cyprian verdigris, two of the copperas called flower of copper, one of *misy*^a and six of saffron, all these ingredients are pounded in Thasian vinegar and made up into pills, that are an outstanding specific against incipient glaucoma and cataract, and also against films on the eyes or roughnesses and white ulcerations in the eye and affections of the eyelids. Verdigris in a crude state is used as an ingredient in plasters for wounds also. In combination with oil it is a marvellous cure for ulcerations of the mouth and gums and for sore lips, and if wax is also added to the mixture it cleanses them and makes them form a cicatrix. Verdigris also eats away the callosity of fistulas and of sores round the anus, either applied by itself or with gum of Hammon,^b or inserted into the fistula in the manner of a salve. Verdigris kneaded up with a third part of turpentine also removes leprosy.

XXVIII There is also another kind of verdigris called from the Greek worm-like verdigris, made by grinding up in a mortar of true cyprian copper with a pestle of the same metal equal weights of alum and salt or soda with the very strongest white vinegar. This preparation is only made on the very hottest days of the year, about the rising of the Dogstar. The mixture is ground up until it becomes of a green colour and shrivels into what looks like a cluster of small worms, whence its name. To remedy any that is blemished, the urine of a young boy to twice the quantity of vinegar that was used is added to the mixture.^c Used as a drug, worm-verdigris has the same effect as santerna which we spoke of as used for soldering gold, both of them have the same⁹³ properties as verdigris. Native worm-verdigris is

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- aeruginis scolē fit et per se de rasus aeratio lapidi,
de quo nunc dicemus

117 XXIX Chalcitum vocant, ex quo et ipso aës
coquuntur distat a cadmea, quod illa super terram
ex subdialibus petris caeditur, haec ex obiutis, item
quod chalcitis fiat se statim, mollis natura, ut
videatur lanugo concreta est et alia distinctio
quod chalcitis terra genera continet, aeris et misyos
et soreos, de quibus singulis dicemus suis locis

118 habet autem aëris venas oblongas probatui mellei
coloris, gracili venarum discursu, friabilis nec
lapidosa putant et recentem utilioriem esse, quo-
niam inveterata soi fiat vis¹ eius ad excrescentia
in ulcerebus, sanguinem sistere, gingivas, uvam,
tonsillas fauina compescere, volvae vitus in velleie
imponi cum suco vero ponni verendorum additui

119 emplastis maceiatur autem in fictili ex acetō
circumlito fimo diebus XL, et colorem croci trahit
tum admixto cadmeae pari pondere medicamentum
efficit psoricon dictum quod si II partes chalcitidis
tertia cadmeae tempeientur, acrius hoc idem fiat,
etiamnum vehementius, si acetō quam vino² tem-
peretur, tosta vero efficacior fit ad eadem omnia

120 XXX Soi Aegyptium maxime laudatur, multum

¹ usus coni Mayhoff

² (si) vino coni Mayhoff

^a Copper pyrites in process of decomposition For *cadmea*
see §§ 2 and 100 and notes

^b Copper pyrites

^c Probably decomposing marcasite, or sometimes black
porous limestone with decomposing pyrites in it (K. C. Buley)

also obtained by scraping a copper ore of which we shall now speak.

XXIX Chalcitis, 'copper-stone,' is the name of *chalcitis* an ore,^a that from which copper also, besides *cadmea*, is obtained by smelting. It differs from *cadmea* because the latter is quarried above ground, from rocks exposed to the air, whereas chalcitis is obtained from underground beds, and also because chalcitis becomes immediately friable, being of a soft nature, so as to have the appearance of congealed down. There is also another difference in that chalcitis contains three kinds of mineral, copper, *misy*^b and *sori*,^c each of which we shall describe in its place, §§ 12, 13 and the veins of copper in it are of an oblong shape. The approved variety of chalcitis is honey coloured, and streaked with fine veins, and is friable and not stony. It is also thought to be more useful when fresh, as when old it turns into *sori*. It is used for growths in ulcers, for arresting haemorrhage and, in the form of a powder, for acting as an astringent on the gums, uvula and tonsils and, applied in wool, as a pessary for affections of the uterus, while with leek juice it is employed in plasters for the genitals. It is steeped for forty days in vinegar in an earthenware jar, covered with dung, and then assumes the colour of saffron, then an equal weight of *cadmea* is mixed with it and this produces the drug called psoricon or cure for itch. If two parts of chalcitis are mixed with one of *cadmea* this makes a stronger form of the same drug, and moreover it is more violent if it is mixed in vinegar than if in wine, and when roasted it becomes more effective for all the same purposes.

XXX Egyptian *sori* is most highly commended, *sori*

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- superato Cypriō Hispaniensique et Africo, quamquam oculorum curationi quidam utilius putent Cyprium, sed in quacumque natione optimum cui maximum virus olfactu, tritumque pinguiter nigrescens et spongiosum stomacho res contaria in tantum, ut quibusdam olfactum modo vomitiones moveat et Aegyptium quidem tale,¹ alterius nationis constitutum splendescit ut misy et est lapidosius prodest autem et dentium dolori, si continetur atque colluat, et ulceribus ossibus gravibus quaeque seipant uriti carbonibus ut chalcitis
- 121 XXXI Misy aliqui tradiderunt fieri exusto lapide in scrobibus, flore eius luteo miscente se ligni pineae favillae re vera autem e supra dicto fit lapide, concretum natura discretumque vi, optimum in Cypriorum officinis, cuius notae sunt friati aureae scintillae et, cum teratur, haerenosa natura sine terra,² chalcitidi³ dissimilis⁴ hoc admiscent qui aurum purgant utilitas eius infusi cum rosaceo auribus purulentis et in lana impositi capitis ulceribus extenuat et scabietias oculorum inveteratas, praecipue
- 122 utile tonsillis contraque anginas et suppurata iatio

¹ tale est *c. I deperd Dalecamp*

² terre cd Lind terrea ed Lugd

³ chalcitidis cd *Flor Ricc*

⁴ dissimilis *K C Bailey* similis cd *Flor Ricc* sin *B¹*
sive cd *Par 6801* similis *rell*

^a Probably produced in most cases by sulphuretted hydrogen

^b Of hollow teeth as is clear from the context and from *Diose I, 141, V, 119*

^c *Chalciti*, § 117

being far superior to that of Cyprus and Spain and Africa, although some people think that Cyprus *sori* is more useful for treatment of the eyes, but whatever its provenance the best is that which has the most pungent odour,^a and which when ground up takes a greasy, black colour and becomes spongy. It is a substance that goes against the stomach so violently that with some people the mere smell of it causes vomiting. This is a description of the *sori* of Egypt. That from other sources when ground up turns a bright colour like *misy*, and it is harder, however, if it is held in the cavities^b and used plentifully as a mouth-wash it is good for toothache and for serious and creeping ulcers of the mouth. It is burnt on charcoal, like chalcitis.

XXXI Some people have reported that *misy* *Misy* is made by burning mineral in trenches, its fine yellow powder mixing itself with the ash of the pine wood burnt, but as a matter of fact though got from the mineral^c above mentioned, it is part of its substance and separated from it by force, the best kind being obtained in the copper-factories of Cyprus, its marks being that when broken it sparkles like gold and when it is ground it has a sandy appearance, without earth, unlike chalcitis. A mixture of *misy* is employed in the magical purification of gold^d. Mixed with oil of roses it makes a useful infusion for suppurating ears and applied on wool a serviceable plaster for ulcers of the head. It also reduces chronic roughness of the eyelids, and is especially useful for the tonsils and against quinsy and suppura-

^a The process of counteracting the supposed evil influence of gold when held over the head of children, etc. See XXXIII, 84

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

ut XVI diachmae in hemina acetū coquantū addito melle, donec lentescat sic ad supia dicta utile est quotiens opus sit molliri vim eius, mel adspegitū ei odit et callum fistularum ex aceto foventium et collyrus additū sistit et sanguinem ulceraque quae serpent quaeve putiescant, absunit et exciescentes caines peculiariter virilitatis virtus utile et feminarum profluviū sistit

- 123 XXXII Graeci cognationem aeris nomine fecerunt et atramento sutorio, appellant enim chalcanthon nec ullius aequa mira natura est fit in Hispaniae puteis stagnis id genus aquae habentibus decouquitū ea admixta dulci pani mensura et in piscinas ligneas funditū immobilibus¹ super hā transversis dependent iestes lapillis extentae, quibus adhaerescens limus vitreis acinis imaginem quandam uvae reddit exemptum ita siccatur diebus XXI color est caeruleus per quam spectabilis nitore vitrumque
 124 esse creditū diluendo fit atiamentum tinguendis cornis fit et pluribus modis genere terrae eo in scrobes cavato, quorum e lateibus destillantes hiberno gelu stirias stalagmian vocant, neque est purius aliud sed ex eo, candidum colorem sentiente
 125 viola, lonchoton² appellant fit et in saviorum

¹ immobilibus *edd vett* immobilis

² *Vl locoton leucoion Hermolaus Barbarus leucanthon edd vett*

^a See n ^a on § 112

^b *I e* water holding in solution the substance referred to

^c So Diosc V, 114 But the description suggests 'leu colon,' 'violet white' The ancients like the modern violas were of various colours

tions The method is to boil 16 drams of it in a twelfth of a pint of vinegar with honey added till it becomes of a viscous consistency this makes a useful preparation for the purposes above mentioned When it is necessary to make it softer, honey is sprinkled on it It also removes the callosity of fistulous ulcers when the patients use it with vinegar as a fomentation, and it is used as an ingredient in eye-salves, arrests haemorrhage and creeping or putrid ulcers, and reduces fleshy excrescences It is particularly useful for troubles in the sexual organs in the male, and it checks menstruation

XXXII The Greeks by then name for shoe-makers'-black <sup>shoemakers
black</sup> have made out an affinity between it and copper they call it *chalcanton*, 'flower of copper', and there is no substance that has an equally remarkable nature It occurs in Spain in wells or pools that contain that sort of water ^b This water is boiled with an equal quantity of pure water and poured into wooden tanks Over these are firmly fixed cross-beams from which hang cords held taut by stones, and the mud clinging to the cords in a cluster of glassy drops has somewhat the appearance of a bunch of grapes It is taken off and then left for thirty days to dry Its colour is an extremely brilliant blue, and it is often taken for glass, when dissolved it makes a black dye used for colouring leather It is also made in several other ways earth of the kind indicated is hollowed into trenches, droppings from the sides of which form icicles in a winter frost which are called drop-flower of copper, and this is the purest kind But some of it, violet with a touch of white, is called *lonchoton*, 'lance-headed' ^c It is also made in pans hollowed

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

cātinis pluvia aquā comixato limo gelante, fit et salis modo flagrantissimo sole admissas dulces aquas cogente ideo quidam duplīcī differentia fossile aut facticium appellant hoc pallidus et quantum
 126 colore, tantum bonitatem deterius probant maxime Cyprium in medicinae usu sumitui ad pellenda ventus animalia drachmae pondere cum melle purgat et caput dilutum ac naribus instillatum, item stomachum cum melle aut aqua mulsa sumptum medetui et oculorum scabritiae dolorique et caligini et oīis ulceribus sistit et sanguinem narium, item haemorrhoidum extiahit ossa fracta cum semine hyoscyami, suspendit epiphoras penicillo fronti impositum efficax et in emplastris ad puiganda
 127 volneia¹ et excrescentia ulcerum tollit et uvas, vel si decocto tangantur cum lini quoque semine superponitur emplastis ad dolores tollendos quod ex eo candidat in uno usu praefertur violaceis, ut gravitati aurum per fistulas inspiretur volneia per se inltum sanat, sed tinguit² cicatrices nuper inventum uisorum in hærena et leonum ora spargere illo, tantaque est vis in adstringendo, ut non queant mordere

128 XXXIII Etiamnum in aerius reperiuntur quae

¹ l l ulcera

² l l tingit stringit *Caesarius*

^a Zinc oxide

^b Zinc oxide made impure by charcoal dust and from other causes (K C Bailev)

in the rocks, into which the slime is carried by rain-water and freezes, and it also forms in the same way as salt when very hot sunshine evaporates the flesh water let in with it. Consequently some people distinguish in twofold fashion between the mined flower of copper and the manufactured, the latter paler than the former and as much inferior in quality as in colour. That which comes from Cyprus is most highly approved for medical employment. It is taken to remove intestinal worms, the dose being one dram mixed with honey. Diluted and injected as drops into the nostrils it clears the head, and likewise taken with honey or honey-water it purges the stomach. It is given as a medicine for roughness of the eyes, pain and mistiness in the eyes, and ulceration of the mouth. It stops bleeding from the nostrils and also haemorrhoidal bleeding. Mixed with henbane seed it draws out splinters of broken bones, applied to the forehead with a swab it arrests running of the eyes, also used in plasters it is efficacious for cleansing wounds and gatherings of ulcers. A mere touch of a decoction of it removes swellings of the uvula, and it is laid with linseed on plasters used for relieving pains. The whitish part of it is preferred to the violet kinds for one purpose, that of being blown through tubes into the ears to relieve ear-trouble. Applied by itself as a liniment it heals wounds, but it leaves a discolouration in the scars. There has lately been discovered a plan of sprinkling it on the mouths of bears and lions in the arena, and its astringent action is so powerful that they are unable to bite.

XXXIII The substances called by Greek names *zinc oxide* meaning 'bubble'^a and 'ash'^b are also found in

PIINY NATURAL HISTORY

- vocant pompholygem et spodon differentia quod pompholyx lotura separatur spodos inlotus est aliqui quod sit candidum levissimumque pompholygem diversum esse aeris ac cadmeae favillam, spodon nigritorem esse ponderosiorumque, de rasam parietibus fornacium, mixtis scintillis,¹ aliquando et carbonibus
 129 haec aceto accepto odorem aeris praestat et, si tangatur lingua, saporem horridum convenit oculorum medicamentis, quibuscumque virtus occurrentis, et ad omnia quae spodos hoc solum distat, quod huius elutior vis est additur et in emplastria, quibus lenis refrigeratio quaeritur et siccatio utilior ad omnia quae vino lota est
 130 XXXIV Spodos Cypria optima fit autem liquecentibus cadmea et aetario lapide levissimum hoc est flatuae totius evolatque e fornacibus et tectis adhaerescit, a fuligine distans candore quod minus candidum ex ea, immatiae fornacis argumentum est, hoc quidam pompholygem vocant quod vero rubicundius ex us invenitur, aciorem vim habet et exulcerat adeo, ut, cum lavatur, si attigit oculos,
 131 excaecet est et mellei coloris spodos, in qua plumbum aeris intellegitur sed quodcumque genus lavando fit utilius, purgatur ante panno,² dein

¹ lapillis (*vel cinere, pilis*) *coni Mayhoff*

² linteo panno *coni K C Barley* purgantur ramenta panno *D Arcy Thompson* ante pinna aut ante penna

the furnaces of copper works. The difference between them is that bubble is disengaged by washing but ash is not washed out. Some people have given the name of 'bubble' to the substance that is white and very light in weight, and have said that it is the ashes of copper and *cadmea*, but that 'ash' is darker and heavier, being scraped off the walls of furnaces, mixed with sparks from the ore and sometimes also with charcoal. This material when vinegar is applied to it gives off a smell of copper, and if touched with the tongue has a horrible taste. It is a suitable ingredient for eye medicines, remedying all troubles whatever, and for all the purposes for which 'ash' is used, its only difference is that its action is less violent. It is also used as an ingredient for plasters employed to produce a gentle cooling and drying effect. It is more efficacious for all purposes when it is moistened with wine.

XXXIV Cyprus ash is the best. It is produced when *cadmea* and copper ore are melted. The ash in question is the lightest part of the whole substance produced by blasting, and it flies out of the furnaces and adheres to the roof, being distinguished from soot by its white colour. Such part of it as is less white is an indication of inadequate firing, it is this that some people call 'bubble'. But the redder part selected from it has a keener force, and is so corrosive that if while it is being washed it touches the eyes it causes blindness. There is also an ash of the colour of honey, which is understood to indicate that it contains a large amount of copper. But any kind is made more serviceable by washing, it is first purified with a strainer of cloth and then given a more substantial washing, and the rough portions

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 132 classiore¹ lotuia digitis scabritiae excernuntur²
 eximia³ vis est eius, quia⁴ vino lavatu est aliqua
 et in genere vini differentia leni enim lota collyius
 oculorum minus utilis putatur eademque efficacio
 ulceibus, quae manent, vel oitis, quae madeant, et
 omnibus medicamentis, quae parentur contra gan-
 grena fit et in argenti fornacibus spodos, quin
 vocant Lauriotum utilissima autem oculis adfir-
 matur quae fiat in auribus, nec in alia parte magis est
 vitae ingenii minari quippe ne quaerenda essent
 metalli, vihissimis iebus utilitates easdem excogitavit
- 133 XXXV Antispodon vocant cinerem fici arboris
 vel caprifici vel myrti foliorum cum teneiimis ramo-
 rum primitibus vel oleastri vel oleae vel cotonei malii
 vel lentisci, item ex moris immatuis, id est candidis,
 in sole arefictis vel e buxi coma aut pseudocyprii
 aut iubri aut teiebinthi vel oenanthes taurini
 quoque glutinis aut linteorum cinerem similiter
 pollere inventum est in iuntui omnia ea crudo
 fictili in fornacibus, donec figlina percoquantur
- 134 XXXVI In aerarius officinis et smegma fit iam
 liquato aere ac percocto additis etiamnum carbonibus
 paulatimque accensis, ac repente vehementiore flatu

¹ crassiore aut crassior *cdd* (crossiora *ed Lind*) crassiora
D'Arcy Thompson crebriore *coni Mayhoff*

² scabritiae (scabritis scabritiae *B*) excernuntur *cdd* sca-
 britiem exterunt *edd vett* excernit *Caesarius*

³ eximia *Mayhoff* et media *B* om et rell

^a So called from Laurium in Attica, where there are still
 silver mines

^b This word σμῆγμα can, it seems, be used not only for a
 detergent or cleansing agent, but also for the stuff removed

are picked out by the fingers When it is washed with wine it is particularly powerful There is also some difference in the kind of wine used, as when it is washed with weak wine it is thought to be less serviceable for eye-salves, and at the same time more efficacious for running ulcers or for ulcers of the mouth that are always wet and more useful for all the antidotes for gangrene An ash called Lauriotis ^a is also produced in furnaces in which silver is smelted, but the kind said to be most serviceable for the eyes is that which is formed in smelting gold Nor is there any other department in which the ingenuities of life are more to be admired, inasmuch as to avoid the need of searching for metals experience has devised the same utilities by means of the commonest things

XXXV The substance called in Greek ‘anti-spodos’ ‘substitute ash’ is the ash of the leaves of the figtree or wild fig or myrtle together with the tenderest parts of the branches, or of the wild olive or cultivated olive or quince or mastic and also ash obtained from unripe, that is still pale, mulberries, dried in the sun, or from the foliage of the box or mock-gladiolus, or bramble or turpentine-tree or œnanthe The same virtues have also been found in the ash of bull-glue or of linen fabrics All of these are burnt in a pot of raw earth heated in a furnace until the earthenware is thoroughly baked

XXXVI Also ‘smegma’ ^b is made in copper forges by adding additional charcoal when the copper has already been melted, and thoroughly fused, and gradually kindling it, and suddenly when a stronger blast is applied a sort of chaff of Smegma
by cleansing, so here it means floating impurities containing some copper (K C Bailey)

expurari aeris pale et quaedam solum, quo excipiatur, statum esse debet marilla¹

135 XXXVII Ab ea discernitur quam in isdem officinis diphrygem vocant Graeci ab eo, quod bis torreatum cuius origo triplex fieri enim traditur ex lapide pyrite cremato in caminis, donec excoquatur in rubricam fit et in Cyprio ex luto eiusdem specus aefacto² prius, mox paulatim circumdati sarmentis³ tertio fit modo in fornacibus aeris faecē subsidente differentia est, quod⁴ aes ipsum in catus defluit, scoria extia fornaces, flos supernatal, diphryges remanent quidam tradunt in fornacibus globos lapidis, qui coquatur, ferumina, circa hunc aes fervere, ipsum vero non percoqui nisi tralatum in alias fornaces, et esse nodum⁵ quendam materiae, id, quod ex cocto supersit, diphryga vocui ratio eius in medicina similis praedictis siccare et excrescentia consumere ut repugnare probatur lingua, ut eam siccet tactu statim saporemque aeris reddat

137 XXXVIII Unum etiamnum aeris minaculum non omittemus Servilia familia inlustris in fastis trien- tem aereum pascit auro, argento, consumentem trumque origo atque natura eius incompeita mihi

¹ marilla *Ian* (*olim marila*) marili *B* maxili *rell* maxilla *edd vett* debet Facile *Hermolaus Barbarus*

² *<sole> vel <aere>* aefacto *coni K C Bailey*

³ sarmentis *<accensis> coni K C Bailey s <aidentibus>* *coni Harrington*

⁴ *Vl* differentiae siquidem differentia est quidem quod *edd vett*

⁵ *Vl* nudum nucleus *coni Mayhoff*

copper spouts out. The floor on which it is received ought to be strewn with charcoal-dust.

XXXVII Distinguished from 'smegma' is the *other impurities* substance in the same forges called by the Greeks *diphryx*, from its being twice toasted. It comes from three different sources. It is said to be obtained from a mineral pyrites which is heated in furnaces till it is smelted into a red earth. It is also made in Cyprus from mud obtained from a certain cavern, which is first dried and then gradually has burning brushwood put round it. A third way of producing it is from the residue that falls to the bottom in copper furnaces, the difference is that the copper itself runs down into crucibles and the slag forms outside the furnace and the flower floats on the top, but the supplies of *diphryx* remain behind. Some people say that certain globules of stone that is being smelted in the furnaces become soldered together and round this the copper gets red hot, but the stone itself is not fused unless it is transferred into other furnaces, and that it is a sort of kernel of the substance, and that what is called *diphryx* is the residue left from the smelting. Its use in medicine is similar to that of the substances already described, to dry up moisture and remove excrescent growths and act as a detergent. It can be tested by the tongue—contact with it ought immediately to have a parching effect and impart a flavour of copper.

XXXVIII We will not omit one further remarkable thing about copper. The Servilian family, famous in our annals, possesses a bronze $\frac{1}{3}$ as piece which it feeds with gold and silver and which consumes them both. Its origin and nature we un-

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

est verba ipsa de ea i.e Messallae senis ponam
 Seviriorum familia habet trientem sacrum, cui
 summa cum curia magnificentiaque sacra quotannis
 faciunt quem ferunt alias creuisse, alias decrueisse
 videui et ex eo aut honorem aut diminutionem
 familiae significare

138 XXXIX Proxime indicari debent metalli ferri
 optumo pessimoque vitae instrumento est,¹ siquidem
 hoc tellurem scindimus, arbores serimus, arbusti
 tondemus,² vites squalore deciso annis omnibus
 cogimus iuvenesceire, hoc extuumus tecta, caedimus
 saxa, omnesque ad alios usus feiro utimur, sed
 eodem ad bella, caedes, latrocinia, non communis
 solum, sed etiam missili volucrisque, nunc tormentis
 excusso, nunc lacertis, nunc vero pinnato, quam
 sceleratissimam humani ingenii fraudem arbitrori,
 siquidem, ut ocius mors perveniret ad hominem,
 alitem illam fecimus pinnasque ferro dedimus
 139 quam ob rem culpa eius non naturae fiat accepta
 aliquot experimentis probatum est posse innocens
 esse ferrum in foedere, quod expulsis regibus
 populo Romano dedit Porsina, nominatim comprehensum
 invenimus, ne feiro nisi in agri cultu uteretur
 et tum³ stilo osseo⁴ scribere institutum vetustissimi
 auctores prodiderunt Magni Pompei in tertio

¹ est add Mayhoff

² Vl ponemus (p pomaria cd Flor Ricc ut videtur
 ponimus p edd vett)

³ Vl cum

⁴ osseo add Mayhoff coll Isid VI 9 2

known to me, but I will put down the actual words of the elder Messala ^a on the subject ‘The family of the Servilii has a holy coin to which every year they perform sacrifices with the greatest devotion and splendour, and they say that this coin seems to have on some occasions grown bigger and on other occasions smaller, and that thereby it portends either the advancement or the decadence of the family’.

XXXIX Next an account must be given of the *Iron Its uses and misuses* mines and ores of iron Iron serves as the best and the worst part of the apparatus of life, inasmuch as with it we plough the ground, plant trees, trim the trees that prop our vines, force the vines to renew their youth yearly by riddling them of decrepit growth, with it we build houses and quarry rocks, and we employ it for all other useful purposes, but we likewise use it for wars and slaughter and brigandage, and not only in hand-to-hand encounters but as a winged missile, now projected from catapults, now hurled by the arm, and now actually equipped with feathered wings, which I deem the most criminal artifice of man’s genius, inasmuch as to enable death to reach human beings more quickly we have taught non how to fly and have given wings to it Let us therefore debit the blame not to Nature, but to man A number of attempts have been made to enable iron to be innocent We find it an express provision included in the treaty granted by Porsena to the ^{508 B C} Roman nation after the expulsion of the kings that ^{510 B C} they should only use iron for purposes of agriculture, and our oldest authors have recorded that in those days it was customary to write with a bone pen There is extant an edict of Pompey the Great dated

^a Consul in 53 B C

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- consulatu extat edictum in tumultu necis Clodianae
prohibentis ullum telum esse in urbe
- 140 XL Et aīs antiqui¹ ipsa non defuit honorem
mitiorem habere ferio quoque Aistonidas artifex,
cum exprimeret vellet Athamantis furorem Leucho
filio praecepitato residentem paenitentia, iēs ferium
que miscuit, ut robigine eius per nitorem aeris
relucente exprimeretur verecundiae rubori hoc
- 141 signum exstat hodie Rhodi² est in eadem urbe et
feireus Hercules, quem fecit Alcon³ laborum dei
patientia inductus videmus et Romae scyphos c
ferro dicatos in templo Martis Ultoris substitut
eadem naturae benignitas exigentis ab feiro ipso
poenas robigine eademque providentia nihil in
rebus mortalibus⁴ facientis⁴ quam quod esset
infestissimum mortalitati
- 142 XLI Ferri metalla ubique propemodum repelliuntur,
quippe et iam⁵ insula Italiae Ilva gignente,
minimaque difficultate adgnoscuntur colore ipso
terrae manifesto ratio eadem excoquendis venis,
in Cappadocia tantum quaestio est, aquae an terrene
fiat acceptum, quoniam perfusa Ceraso⁶ fluvio
terra neque aliter ferrum e fornacibus reddit
- 143 differentia ferri numerosa prima in genere terrae
caelive aliae molle tantum plumboque vicinum

¹ aīs antiqua Mayhoff tamen uiuea B (t uiuea B²)
tamen vita rell

² hodie rhodi B hodierno die rell h d Thebis Hardouin
Thebis hodie Hermolaus Barbarus

³ mortalibus B mortalibus rell

⁴ facientis cd deperd Dalecamp faciente (facientem cd
Par 6801, cd Leid Voss)

⁵ et iam K C Bailey etiam

⁶ Ceraso Urlichs certo

in his third consulship at the time of the disorders accompanying the death of Clodius, prohibiting the possession of any weapon in the city

XL Further, the art of former days did not fail to provide a more humane function even for iron. When the artist Alizonidas desired to represent the madness of Athamas subsiding in repentance after he had hurled his son Leichus from the rock, he made a blend of copper and iron, in order that the blush of shame should be represented by rust of the iron shining through the brilliant surface of the copper; this statue is still standing at Rhodes. There is also in the same city an iron figure of Heracles, which was made by Alcon, prompted by the endurance displayed by the god in his labours. We also see at Rome goblets of iron dedicated in the temple of Mars the Avenger. The same benevolence of nature has limited the power of iron itself by inflicting on it the penalty of rust, and the same foresight by making nothing in the world more mortal than that which is most hostile to mortality.

XLI Deposits of iron are found almost everywhere, and they are formed even now in the Italian island of Elba, and there is very little difficulty in recognizing them as they are indicated by the actual colour of the earth. The method of melting out the veins is the same as in the case of copper. In Cappadocia alone it is merely a question whether the presence of iron is to be credited to water or to earth, as that region supplies iron from the furnaces when the earth has been flooded by the river Cerasus but not otherwise. There are numerous varieties of iron, the first difference depending on the kind of soil or of climate—some lands only yield a soft iron

*Iron ores
and smelt-
ing Steel*

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

subministrant, aliae fragile et aerosum rotarumque usibus et clavis maxime fugiendum, cui prior iatio convent, aliud brevitate sola¹ placet clavisque caligarius, aliud iobiginem celerius sentit strictuae vocantur hae omnes, quod non in aliis metallis, a 144 stringenda acie vocabulo imposito et fornacium magna differentia est, nucleusque quidam ferrum excoquitur in us ad indurandam aciem, alioque modo ad densandas incudes malleorumve rostra summa autem differentia in aqua, cui subinde candens immergitur haec alibi atque alibi utilior nobilitavit loca gloria ferri, sicuti Bilbilim in Hispania et Tunessonem, Comum in Italia, cum ferraria metalla in us 145 locis non sint ex omnibus autem generibus palmi Serico ferro est, Seres hoc cum vestibus suis pellibusque mittunt, secunda Parthico neque aliqua genera ferrum ex mera² acie temperantur, ceteris enim admiscetur mollio complexus in nostro orbe aliubi vena bonitatem hanc praestat, ut in Noricis, aliubi factura, ut Sulmone, aqua aliubi ut³ dirimus, quippe cum⁴ exacuendo oleariae cotes aquariaeque 146 differant et oleo delicatioi fiat acies tenuiora ferra-

¹ bonitate soleis *K C Bailey*² ex mera *B* ex mira rell (ex nimia cd *Vind* ccxxxiv) eximia *edd* vett³ aliubi ut *Warmington* uti *edd* vett ubi⁴ *Vl* cum in^a The Chinese, in fact intermediaries are meant^b In the MSS this sentence comes after the next one

closely allied to lead, others a brittle and coppery kind that is specially to be avoided for the requirements of wheels and for nails, for which purpose the former quality is suitable, another variety of iron finds favour in short lengths only and in nails for soldiers' boots, another variety experiences rust more quickly. All of these are called 'stricturæ,' 'edging ores,' a term not used in the case of other metals, it is, as assigned to these ores, derived from *stringere aciem*,^x to draw out a sharp edge.' There is also a great difference between smelting works, and a certain kind of iron is smelted in them to give hardness to a blade, and by another process to giving solidity to anvils or the heads of hammers. But the chief difference depends on the water in which at intervals the red hot metal is plunged, the water in some districts is more serviceable than in others, and has made places famous for the celebrity of their iron, for instance Bambola and Tarragona in Spain and Como in Italy, although there are no iron mines in those places. But of all varieties of iron the palm goes to the Seric, sent us by the Seres^a with their fabrics and skins. The second prize goes to Parthian iron, and indeed no other kinds of iron are forged from pure metal, as all the rest have a softer alloy welded with them. In our part of the world, in some places the lode supplies this good quality, as for instance in the country of the Norici, in other places it is due to the method of working, as at Sulmona, and in others, as we have said, it is due § 144 to the water, inasmuch as for giving an edge there is a great difference between oil whetstones and water whetstones, and a finer edge is produced by oil. It^b is the custom to quench smaller iron forgings

menta oleo 1 estinguui mos est, ne aqua in fragilitatem durentur¹ minumque, cum excoquatur vena, aquae modo liquari ferum, postea in spongeas frangi a ferro sanguis humanus se ulciscitur, contactum namque eo celerius robiginem trahit

- 147 XLII De magnete lapide suo loco dicemus concordiaque, quam cum ferro habet soli haec materia virus² ab eo lapide accipit retinetque longo tempore, ahud adprehendens ferum, ut anulorum catena spectetur interdum quod volgus imperium appellat ferum vivum, vulneraque talia asperiora fiunt hic lapis et in Cantabria nascitur, non ut ille magnes verus caute continua, sed sparsi bullatione³—ita appellant,—nescio an vitro⁴ fundendo perinde utilis, nondum enim experitus est quisquam, ferum utique inficit eadem vi Magnete lapide architectus Timochares Alexandriae Aisinoes templum concamarare incohaverat, ut in eo simulacrum e ferro pendere in aere videretur intercessit ipsius mos et Ptolemaei regis, qui id sorori suae iusserat fieri XLIII Metallorum omnium vena ferri largissima est Cantabriae maritima parte, qua oceanus adluit, mons praetaltus—incredibile dictu—totus ex ea materia est, ut in ambitu oceanii diximus

¹ tenuiora durentur post acies transf Raccham post frangi habent cdd

² Vl vires (viii Isid XVI 21 4)

³ bulbatione B bullatione rell

⁴ vitro Hermolaus Barbarus ultro

^a As well as in Magnesia

^b Wife of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus King of Fgypt 286—
247 B C

Pliny has not stated this anywhere else But cf IV 112

with oil, for fear that water might harden them and make them brittle. And it is remarkable that when a vein of ore is fused the iron becomes liquid like water and afterwards acquires a spongy and brittle texture. Human blood takes its revenge from iron, as if iron has come into contact with it, it becomes the more quickly liable to rust.

XLII We will speak in the appropriate place *Lode stone*
about the lode-stone and the sympathy which it has
XXXVI
with iron. Iron is the only substance that catches
126 sqq

the infection of that stone and retains it for a long period, taking hold of other iron, so that we may sometimes see a chain of rings, the ignorant lower classes call this 'live iron,' and wounds inflicted with it are more severe. This sort of stone forms in Biscaya also^a not in a continuous rocky stratum like the genuine lodestone alluded to but in a scattered pebbly formation or 'bubbling'—that is what they call it. I do not know whether it is equally useful for glass founding, as no one has hitherto tested it, but it certainly imparts the same magnetic property to iron. The architect Timochares had begun to use lodestone for constructing the vaulting in the Temple of Aisnoe^b at Alexandria, so that the iron statue contained in it might have the appearance of being suspended in mid air, but the project was interrupted by his own death and that of King Ptolemy who had ordered the work to be done in honour of his sister.

XLIII Iron ore is found in the greatest abundance of all metals. In the coastal part of Biscaya washed by the Atlantic there is a very high mountain which, marvellous to relate, consists entirely of that mineral, as we stated^c in our account of the lands bordering on the Ocean.

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

Ferrum accensum igni, nisi duretur ictibus, cor-
 • iumpitur rubens non es^a habile tundendo neque
 antequam albescere incipiat aceto aut alumine
 150 inlatum fit aeri simile a robigine vindicatur cerussa
 et gypso et liquida pice haec est ferro a Graecis
 antipathia dicta ferunt quidem et religione qua-
 dam id fieri et extare feueam catenam apud
 Euphraten amnem in urbe, quae Zeugma appellatur,
 qua Alexander Magnus ibi iunxit pontem, cuius
 anulos, qui refecti sint, robigine infestari, carentibus
 ea prioribus

151 XLIV Medicina e feiro est et alia quam secandi
 namque et circumscibit circulo¹ terve circumlato
 mucrone et adultis et infantibus prodest contra noviri
 medicamenta, et praefixisse in limine evulsos sepul-
 chris clavos adversus nocturnas lymphationes, pungi-
 que leviter mucrone, quo percussus homo sit, contiri
 dolores lateum pectorumque subitos, qui punctionem
 adferant quaedam ustione sanantur, privatim vero
 canis rabidi morsus, quippe etiam praevalente morbo
 expaventesque potum usta plaga illico liberantur
 calfit etiam feuo candente potus in multis virtutis,
 privatim vero dysentericis

152 XLV Est et robigo ipsa in remedius, et sic proditum

¹ circulo *B* circulos *rell*

^a See § 175

^b Opposite the modern Birejik

Iron that has been heated by fire is spoiled unless it is hardened by blows of the hammer. It is not suitable for hammering while it is red hot, nor before it begins to turn pale. If vinegar or alum is sprinkled on it it assumes the appearance of copper. It can be protected from rust by means of lead acetate,^a gypsum and vegetable pitch, rust is called by the Greeks 'antipathia,' 'natural opposite' to iron. It is indeed said that the same result may also be produced by a religious ceremony, and that in the city called Zeugma^b on the river Euphrates there is an iron chain that was used by Alexander the Great in making the bridge at that place, the links of which 331 B.C. that are new replacements are attacked by rust although the original links are free from it.

XLIV Iron supplies another medicinal service *Medicinal uses of iron* besides its use in surgery. It is beneficial both for adults and infants against noxious drugs for a circle to be drawn round them with iron or for a pointed iron weapon to be carried round them, and to have a fence of nails that have been extracted from tombs driven in in front of the threshold is a protection against attacks of nightmare, and a light prick made with the point of a weapon with which a man has been wounded is beneficial against sudden pains which bring a pricking sensation in the side and chest. Some maladies are cured by cauterization, but particularly the bite of a mad dog, inasmuch as even when the disease is getting the upper hand and when the patients show symptoms of hydrophobia they are relieved at once if the wound is cauterized. In many disorders, but especially in dysenteric cases, drinking water is heated with redhot iron.

XLV The list of remedies even includes rust

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

Telephum sanasse Achilles, sive id aerea sive ferrea
 cuspide fecit, ita certe pingitui ex ea decutiens
 gladio suo¹ iobigo ferri deraditui umido ferro
 153 clavis veteribus potentia eius ligare, siccae, sistere
 emendat alopecias inlita utuntur et ad scabritias
 generum pusulasque totius corporis cum cerata et
 myriteo oleo, ad ignes vero sacros ex aceto, item
 ad scabiem, paronychia digitorum et pterigia in
 linteolis sistit et feminarum profluvia imposta
 in vellere, utilis² plagiis quoque recentibus vino diluta
 et cum muria subacta, condylomatis ex aceto poda-
 gras quoque inlita lenit
 154 XLVI Squama quoque ferri in usu est ex acie aut
 mucronibus, maxime simili, sed aciore vi quam
 iobigo, quam ob rem et contra epiphorias oculorum
 adsumitui sanguinem sistit, cum volnera ferro
 maxime fiant¹ sistit et feminalium profluvia in-
 ponitur et contra hennum vitia, et haemoroidas
 compescit ulceumque serpentia et genis prodest
 155 farinae modo adspersa paullispera piaecipua tamen
 commendatio eius in hygremplastio ad purganda
 vulnera fistulasque et omnem callum eiodendum et
 rasis ossibus carnes recreandas componitui hoc
 modo propolis³ oboli vi, Cimoliae cretae diachmiae
 vi, aevis tusi diachmae ii, squamae ferri⁴ totidem,

¹ suo K C Bailey sed

² in vellere, utilis coni Mayhoff velleribus

³ propolis Mayhoff (coll XXII 107, Scribon, 209) qui et
 galbani vel panacis coni pal B pari sell panis Ian
 aluminis coni Silling picis Hardouin

⁴ Vl ferreae

itself, and this is the way in which Achilles is stated to have cured Telephus, whether he did it by means of a copper javelin or an iron one, at all events Achilles is so represented in painting, knocking the rust off a javelin with his sword Rust of iron is obtained by scraping it off old nails with an iron tool dipped in water The effect of rust is to unite wounds and dry them and staunch them, and applied as a liniment it relieves fox-mange They also use it with wax and oil of myrtle for scabbiness of the eye-lids and pimples in all parts of the body, but dipped in vinegar for erysipelas and also for scab, and, applied on pieces of cloth, for hangnails on the fingers and whitlows Applied on wool it arrests women's discharges and for recent wounds it is useful diluted with wine and kneaded with myrrh, and for swellings round the anus dipped in vinegar Used as a liniment it also relieves gout

XLVI Scale of iron, obtained from a sharp edge or point, is also employed, and has an effect extremely like that of rust only more active, for which reason it is employed even for running at the eyes It arrests haemorrhage, though it is with iron that wounds are chiefly made! And it also arrests female discharges It is also applied against troubles of the spleen, and it checks haemorrhoidal swellings and creeping ulcers Applied for a brief period in the form of a powder it is good for the eyelids But its chief recommendation is its use in a wet plaster for cleaning wounds and fistulas and for eating out every kind of callosity and making new flesh on bones that have been denuded The following are the ingredients six obols of bee-glue, six drams of Cimolo earth,^a two drams of pounded copper, two of

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

cerae ¹ olei sextarius his adicitur, cum sunt
repuganda volnera aut replenda, ceratum

- 1.6 XLVII Sequitur natura plumbi, cuius duo genera,
niguum atque candidum pretiosissimum in ² hoc
candidum, Graecis appellatum cassiterium fabulo-
seque natiatum in insulas Atlantici mariis peti vitili-
busque navigis et circumsutis corio advehi nunc
certum est in Lusitania gigni et in Gallaecia summ̄
157 tellure, harenosa et coloris nigri ponde re tantum
ea deprehenditur, interveniunt et minuti calculi,
maxime torrentibus siccatis lavant eas harenas
metallici et, quod subsedit, cocunt in fornacibus
inveniunt et in auris metallis, quae alutias ³ vocant,
aqua immissa eluente calculos nigros paullum candore
variatos, quibus eadem gravitas quae auro, et ideo
in catillis ⁴ quibus aurum colligitur, cum eo remanent,
postea caminis separantur conflati que in plumbum
158 album resolvuntur non fit in Gallaecia niguum, cum
vicina Cantabria nigro tantum abundet, nec ex albo
argentum, cum fiat ex nigro iungi inter se plumbum
nigrum sine albo non potest nec hoc ei sine oleo
ac ne album quidem secum sine nigro album
habuit auctoritatem et Iliacis temporibus teste
159 Homero, cassiterium ab illo dictum plumbi nigri

¹ v Mayhoff XL B¹ VI B² ex aut sex rell

² in add Mayhoff

³ alutias B alutia aut aluta rell

⁴ catillis Warrington scutulis Urlichs calathis cd Par
6801 recte? calatis aut colatis aut cloacis rell (cutalis B)

^a Pliny's 'black lead' is lead, and his 'white lead' is tin.
Neither must be confused with the 'black lead' and 'white
lead' of modern usage.

^b Or, if we read calathi, 'baskets'

scale of non, ten of wax and a pint of oil When it is desired to cleanse or fill up wounds, wax plaster is added to these ingredients

XLVII The next topic is the nature of lead, of *lead and tin*
 which there are two kinds, black and white ^a White *tin*
 lead (tin) is the most valuable, the Greeks applied
 to it the name *cassiteros*, and there was a legendary
 story of their going to islands of the Atlantic ocean to
 fetch it and importing it in plaited vessels made of
 osiers and covered with stitched hides It is now
 known that it is a product of Lusitania and Gallaecia
 found in the surface strata of the ground which is
 sandy and of a black colour It is only detected by its
 weight, and also tiny pebbles of it occasionally appear,
 especially in dry beds of torrents The miners wash
 this sand and heat the deposit in furnaces It is
 also found in the goldmines called 'alutiae,' through
 which a stream of water is passed that washes out
 black pebbles of tin mottled with small white spots,
 and of the same weight as gold, and consequently
 they remain with the gold in the bowls ^b in which
 it is collected, and afterwards are separated in the
 furnaces, and fused and melted into white lead
 Black lead does not occur in Gallaecia, although the
 neighbouring country of Biscaya has large quantities
 of black lead only, and white lead yields no silver,
 although it is obtained from black lead Black lead
 cannot be soldered with black without a layer of
 white lead, nor can white be soldered to black with-
 out oil, nor can even white lead be soldered with
 white without some black lead Homer testifies ^{n XI 25}
 that white lead or tin had a high position even in the ^{XVIII 5}
 Trojan period, he giving it the name of *cassiteros* ^{574, 613,}
 There are two different sources of black lead, as it is ^{XVIII, 5}

origo duplex est, aut enim sua provenit vena nec
quicquam aliud ex sese parit aut cum argento
nascitur mixtisque venis conflatur huius qui pri-
mus fuit in fornacibus liquor stagnum appellatur,
qui secundus, argentum, quod remansit in fornacibus,
galena, quae fit tertia pars additae venae, haec
rursus conflata dat nigrum plumbum deductis partibus
nonis II

160 XLVIII Stagnum initum aeris vasis saporem
facit gratior em ac compescit vius aeruginis, mirum-
que, pondus non auget specula etiam ex eo
laudatissima, ut diximus, Biundisi temperabantur,
donec argenteis uti coepere et ancillae nunc
adulteratui stagnum addita aeris candidi tertia
portione in plumbum album fit et alio modo mixtis
albi plumbi nigrique libris, hoc nunc aliqui argen-
tarium appellant idem et tertiarium vocant, in
quo duae sunt nigri portiones et tertia albi pre-
mium eius in libras X ^{xx}¹ hoc fistulae solidantur
161 improiores ad tertiarium additis partibus aequis
albi argentarium vocant et eo quae volunt inco-
quunt premium ² huius faciunt in p X LXXI ³ albo
per se sincero premium ⁴ sunt X LXXXV ⁵ nigro X VII ⁶

Albi natura plus audi habet, contraque nigri tota

¹ ~~X~~ LXX B ~~VII~~ rell (~~X~~ cd Par Lat 6797)

² V l pretia (pretio cl Leid Loss)

³ ~~X~~ LXX ~~III~~ B ² varia cdd ⁴ V l pretia

⁵ ~~X~~ LXXX B varia cdd

⁶ ~~X~~ VII cd Chiff apud Dalecamp ~~XVII~~ rell

^a The mixture is galena or sulphide of lead, the commonest lead ore, for which, see XXXIII, 95

^b Or stannum, alloy of silver and lead

^c Galena is here crude or impure lead not the modern galena or sulphide of lead for which see LXXIII 95

¹ Brss

either found in a vein of its own and produces no other substance mixed with it, or it forms together with silver, and is smelted with the two veins mixed together^a. Of this substance the liquid that melts first in the furnaces is called *stagnum*^b, the second liquid is urgentiferous lead, and the residue left in the furnaces is impure lead^c which forms a third part of the vein originally put in, when this is again fused it gives black lead, having lost two-ninths in bulk^d.

XLVIII When copper vessels are coated with *stagnum* the contents have a more agreeable taste and the formation of destructive verdigris is prevented, and, what is remarkable, the weight is not increased. Also, as we have said, it used to be employed at Brindisi as a material for making mirrors which were very celebrated, until even servant-maids began to use silver ones. At the present day a counterfeit *stagnum* is made by adding one part of white copper^e to two parts of white lead, and it is also made in another way by mixing together equal weights of white and black lead. The latter compound some people now call 'silver mixture.' The same people also give the name of 'tertiary' to a compound containing two portions of black lead and one of white, its price is 20 denarii a pound. It is used for soldering pipes. More dishonest makers add to tertiary an equal amount of white lead and call it 'silver mixture,' and use it melted for plating by immersion any articles they wish. They put the price of this last at 70 denarii for 1 lb. the price of pure white lead without alloy is 80 denarii, and of black lead 7 denarii.

The substance of white lead has more dryness,

umida est ideo album nulli rei sine mixtura utile
 est neque argentum ex eo plumbatui, quoniam
 162 prius liquecat argentum, confirmantque, si minus
 albo nigrum, quam satis sit, misceatur, erodi ab eo
 argentum album incoquitur aereis operibus Gal-
 liaum invento ita, ut vir disceini possit ab aigento,
 eaque incoctilia appellant deinde et argentum
 incoquere simili modo coepere equorum maxime
 ornamenti iumentorumque ac iugorum in Alesia
 163 oppido, reliqua gloria Biturigum fuit coepere
 deinde et esseda sua colisataque ac petonta exornare
 simili modo, quae iam luxuria ad aurea quoque, non
 modo argentea, staticula¹ pervenit, quaeque in
 scyphis cerni prodigum² erat, haec in vehiculis adteui
 cultus vocatur

plumbi albi experimentum in charta est, ut lique-
 factum pondere videatur, non calore, rupisse India
 neque aes neque plumbum habet gemmisque ac
 margaritus suis haec permutat

164 XLIX Nigro plumbo ad fistulas lamnasque utimur,
 laboriosius in Hispania eruto totasque per Gallias,
 se din Brittannia summo teriae corio adeo laige, ut
 lex interdicat ut³ ne plus certo modo fiat nigrum

¹ vehicula cd Par 6801, cd Par Iat 6797, m 2 in ras

² Vl prodigium

³ lex interdicat ut M Hertz lex ultro dicatur cdd lex
 cavere dicatur Urlichs lex custodiatur Detlef en legi
 interdicatur Brunn nec interdicatur coni Mayhoff

^a But silver does not melt sooner than 'white lead' (tin)
 Perhaps some alloy is meant here

^b At Mont Auvois near Alise

whereas that of black lead is entirely moist. Consequently white lead cannot be used for anything without an admixture of another metal, nor can it be employed for soldering silver, because the silver melts before the white lead^a. And it is asserted that if a smaller quantity of black lead than is necessary is mixed with the white, it corrodes the silver. A method discovered in the Gallic provinces is to plate bronze articles with white lead so as to make them almost indistinguishable from silver, articles thus treated are called 'incocilia'. Later they also proceeded in the town Alesia^b to plate with silver in a similar manner, particularly ornaments for horses and pack animals and yokes of oxen, the distinction of developing this method belongs to Bordeaux. Then they proceeded to decorate two-wheeled war-chariots, chaises and four-wheeled carriages in a similar manner, a luxurious practice that has now got to using not only silver but even gold statuettes, and it is now called good taste to subject to wear and tear on carriages ornaments that it was once thought extravagant to see on a goblet!

It is a test of white lead when melted and poured on papyrus to seem to have burst the paper by its weight and not by its heat. India possesses neither copper nor lead, and procures them in exchange for her precious stones and pearls.

XLIX Black lead which we use to make pipes and sheets is excavated with considerable labour in Spain and through the whole of the Gallic provinces, but in Britain it is found in the surface-stratum of the earth in such abundance that there is a law prohibiting the production of more than a certain amount. The various kinds of black lead

generibus haec sunt nomina Ovetanum,¹ Capriarensse,
 Oleastrense, nec differentia ulla scoria modo excocti
 diligenter minum in his solis metallis, quod deie-
 165 licta fertilius revivescunt hoc videtur facere lavatis
 spinamentis ad satietatem infusus aer, aequo ut
 feminas quasdam fecundiores facere abortus nupera
 id conpeitum in Baetica Salutariensi² metallo, quod
 locauit soltum $\times \overline{cc}$ ³ annuis, postquam obliteatum
 erat, $\times \overline{cciv}$ ⁴ locatum est simili modo Antonianum
 in eadem provincia pari locatione perivenerit ad $\text{hs } \overline{cccc}$
 vinctigalis minum et addita aqua non liqueficeret
 vasa e plumbo, eadem, si in aquam⁵ addantur calculus
 vel aereus quadrians, perire.

166 L In medicina peri se plumbi usus cicatrices
 reprimere adalligatisque lumborum et renium parti
 lamnis frigidore natura inhibere impetus venenis
 visaque in quiete venenosa sponte naturae euimpentia
 usque in genus morbi his lamnis Calvus orator
 cohibuisse se tradidit viresque corporis studiorum
 labiorum custodisse Neio, quoniam ita placuit dñs,
 princeps, lamna pectori imposita sub ea cantica
 exclamans alendis vocibus demonstravit rationem
 167 coquitur ad medicinae usus patinis fictilibus sub-
 strato sulpure minuto, lamnis impositis tenuibus

¹ Ovetanum Hardouin iovetanum B iovetantum rell

² Salutariensi coni Mayhoff samarensi B santarensi
 aut samiarenci aut saremianensi rell

³ cc Ian cc M cd Leid Voss, cd Flor Ricc² (ccc
 Ricc¹) cc rell

⁴ \times CCLV Mayhoff varia cdd et edd

⁵ in aquam C F W Müller sine aqua K C Bailey coni
 Mayhoff cum aqua

^a Not true K C Bailey suggests *si sine aqua* and translates ‘a hole is burnt in the same vessels if filled with pebbles or copper coins instead of water’

have the following names—Oviedo lead, Cipriana lead, Oleastium lead, though there is no difference between them provided the slag has been carefully smelted away. It is a remarkable fact in the case of these mines only that when they have been abandoned they replenish themselves and become more productive. This seems to be due to the air infusing itself to saturation through the open orifices, just as a miscarriage seems to make some women more prolific. This was recently observed in the Salutariensis mine in Baetica, which used to be let at a rent of 200,000 denarii a year, but which was then abandoned, and subsequently let for 255,000. Likewise the Antonian mine in the same province from the same rent has reached a return of 400,000 sestertii. It is also remarkable that vessels made of lead will not melt if they have water put in them, but if to the water a pebble or quarter-as coin is added, the fire burns through ^a the vessel.

L In medicine lead is used by itself to remove ^{Medical uses of lead} scars, and leaden plates are applied to the region of the loins and kidneys for their compaiitive chilly nature to check the attacks of venereal passions, and the libidinous dreams that cause spontaneous emissions to the extent of constituting a kind of disease. It is recorded that the pleader Calvus used these plates to control himself and to preserve his bodily strength for laborious study. Nero, whom heaven was pleased to make emperor, used to have a plate of lead on his chest when singing songs *fortissimo*, thus showing a method for preserving the voice. For medical purposes lead is melted in earthen vessels, a layer of finely powdered sulphur being put underneath it, on this thin plates are

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operisque sulphure, veru ferreο¹ mixtis cum coquatuī,² munienda in eo, opere foramina spiritus convenit, alioqui plumbi fornacium halitus novus sentitur et pestilens, nocet³ canibus occissime, omnium vero metalloūm muscis et culicibus, quam ob rem non sunt ea taedia in metallis

- 168 Quidam in coquendo scobem plumbi lima quaesitam sulpui miscent, aliū cerussam potius quam sulphur fit et lotuia plumbi usus in medicina cum se ipso tenetur in mortaīus plumbeis addita aqua caelesti, donec crassescat, postea supernatans aqua tollitur spongeis, quod cīassissimum fuit, siccatum dividitū in pastillos quidam limatum plumbum sic terunt, quidam et plumbaginem admiscent, aliū vero acetum, 169 aliū vinum, aliū adipem, aliū iōsam quidam in lapideo mortario et maxime Thebaico plumbum pistillo lapideo⁴ tereſe malunt, candidiusque ita fit medicamentum id autem quod ustum est plumbum lavatur ut stibis et cadmea potest adſtingere, sistere, contrahere cicatrices, usu est⁵ eodem et in oculōum medicamentis, maxime contra procidentiam eorum et inanitates ulcerum excrescentiae rimasque sedis aut haemorrhoidas et condylomata ad haec maxime lotura plumbi facit

¹ veru ferreο *coni Mayhoff* et ferro aut est et foro

² coquuntur *coni Mayhoff*

³ nocet *Warmington* est *Mayhoff* et

⁴ plumbum (*Urlichs*) pistillo (e cd *Par Lat* 6797) lapideo (*coll. Diosc.*) *K C Bailey* plumbeum pistillum aut plumbeo pistillum *cdd* (pistillo *cd Par Lat* 6797)

⁵ usu est *Mayhoff* usus et *cdd* usus enim ex *ed rett* usus ex *Siliq*

^a See XXXIII, 98

^b See § 175

^c Not it seems the plant lead wort Cf *Dioscorides*, V, 95,

luid and covered with sulphur and stirred up with iron spit While it is being melted, the breathing passages should be protected during the operation, otherwise the noxious and deadly vapour of the lead furnace is inhaled it is hurtful to dogs with special rapidity,^a but the vapour of all metals is so to flies and gnats, owing to which those annoyances are not found in mines

Some people during the process of smelting mix lead-filings with the sulphur, and others use lead acetate^b in preference to sulphur Another use of lead is to make a wash—it is employed in medicine—pieces of lead with rainwater added being ground against themselves in leaden mortars till the whole assumes a thick consistency, and then water floating on the top is removed with sponges and the very thick sediment left when dry is divided into tablets Some people grind up lead filings in this way and some also mix in some lead ore,^c but others use vinegar, others wine, others grease, others oil of roses Some prefer to grind the lead with a stone pestle in a stone mortar, and especially one made of Thebes stone,^d and this process produces a drug of a white colour Calcined lead is washed like antimony and *cadmea*^e It has the property of acting as an astringent and arresting haemorrhage and of promoting cicatrization It is of the same utility also in medicines for the eyes, especially as preventing their procidence, and for the cavities or excrescences left by ulcers and for fissures of the anus or haemorrhoids and swellings of the anus For these purposes lead lotion is ex-

^a Cf XXXIII, 68, XXXIV, 106, XXXVI, 63, 157

^b See XXXIII, 103, XXXIV, 100-104

cinis autem ustī ad serpentia ulceā aut soīdida,
 eademque quae chartis¹ iatio pīofectus uritū
 autem in patinis per lamnas minutas cum sulpure,
 versatum iudib⁹ ferreis aut ferulaceis, donec liquoi
 mutetū in cīneū, deīn refrigeratū teritū in
 faūnam alii elimatam scobem in fīctili cīudo cocunt
 in caminis, donec percoquatu figlinum aliqui
 ceūssam admiscent pari mensua aut hoīdeum
 teruntque ut in crudo² dictum est, et pīafeiunt
 sic plumbum spodio Cyprio

171 LI Scoria quoque plumbī in usu est optima quae
 maxime ad luteum coloīem accedit, sine plumbī
 reliquis aut sulpuris, specie terraē³ caiens lavatur
 haec in mortariis minutim facta, donec aqua luteum
 coloīem trahat, et transfunditur in vas purum,
 idque saepius, usque dum subsidat quod utilissimum
 est effectus habet eosdem quos plumbum, sed
 acriores mirarique succurrit experientiam⁴ vitae,
 ne faece quidem rerum excrementorumque foeditate
 intemtata tot modis

172 LII Fit et spodium ex plumbo eodem modo quo
 ex Cyprio aere, lavatu in hīnteis rāis aqua caelesti
 separaturque terrenum transfusione, cribratum
 teritū quidam pulverem eum pīnis dīgeire
 malunt ac teiere in vīno odorato

¹ chalcitidis coni Mayhoff

² in crudo cdd supra coni K C Barley

³ specie terraē B et terra tell

⁴ experientia B

^a For the medicinal use of burnt pīpyrus see XIX, 88

^b See § 175

^c Some kind of lithuge

remely efficient, while for creeping or foul ulcers ash of calcined lead is useful, and the benefit they produce is on the same lines as in the case of sheets of papyrus ^a. The lead is burnt in small sheets mixed with sulphur, in shallow vessels, being studded with iron rods or fennel stalks till the molten metal is reduced to ashes, then after being cooled off it is ground into powder. Another process is to boil lead filings in a vessel of raw earth in furnaces till the earthenware is completely baked. Some mix with it an equal amount of lead acetate ^b or of barley and grind this mixture, in the way stated in the case of § 168 raw lead, and prefer the lead treated in this way to the Cyprus slag.

L1 The dross of lead is also utilized. The best is that which approximates in colour most closely to yellow, containing no remnants of lead or sulphur, and does not look earthy. This is broken up into small fragments and washed in mortars till the water assumes a yellow colour, and poured off into a clean vessel, and the process is repeated several times till the most valuable part settles as a sediment at the bottom. Lead dross has the same effects as lead, but to a more active degree. This suggests a remark on the marvellous efficacy of human experiment, which has not left even the dregs of substances and the foulest refuse untested in such numerous ways!

LII Slag ^c is also made from lead in the same way as from Cyprus copper, it is washed with rain water in linen sheets of fine texture and the earthy particles are got rid of by rinsing, and the residue is sifted and then ground. Some prefer to separate the powder with a feather, and to grind it up with aromatic wine.

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 173 LIII Est et molybdaena, quam alio loco galenam appellavimus, vena argenti plumbique communis melior haec, quanto magis aurei coloris quantoque minus plumbosa, friabilis et modice gravis cocta cum oleo iocineris colorem trahit adhaesit et auri argentique foīnacibus, hanc metallicam vocant laudatissima quae in Zephyrīo fiat, probantur minime
- 174 terrenae minimeque lapidosae coquuntur lavanturque scoriae modo usus in h̄pāra ad lenienda ac refregeāanda ulcera et emplastis, quae non infligantur sed inita ad cicatricem perducunt in teneris corporibus mollissimisque partibus compositio eius e libris III et cœiae libra, olei III heminis, quod in semili corpore cum fiacibus additur temperatur cum spuma argenti et scoria plumbi ad dysenteriam et tenesmum fovenda calida
- 175 LIV Psimithium quoque, hoc est cœussam, plumbariae dant officinae, laudatissimam in Rhodo fit autem ramentis plumbi tenuissimis super vas acetū asperirmi impositis atque ita destillantibus quod ex eo cecidit in ipsum acetum, arefactum molitur et cribriatur iterumque aceto admixto in pastillos dividitur et in sole siccatur aestate fit et alio modo, addito in urceos acetū plumbo opturatos per dies derasoque ceu situ ac ruisus rejecto, donec deficiat

^a In this word Pliny includes two things (1) a mineral which is lead sulphide (still called galena) or perhaps lead oxide (II. 14). (2) an artificial product which is litharge. Both Pliny and Dioscorides call the mineral yellow, which is true of the hæmatite or red sulphide. So the mineral may be the yellow or yellowish red massicot (K C Bailey)

^b Sugar of lead, not the modern basic lead carbonate or 'white lead'

LIII There is also *molybdaena*^a (which in another place we have called *galera*), it is a mineral compound of silver and lead. It is better the more golden its colour and the less leaden it is friable and of moderate weight. When boiled with oil it acquires the colour of liver. It is also found adhering to furnaces in which gold and silver are smelted, in this case it is called metallic sulphide of lead. The kind most highly esteemed is produced at Zephyrium. Varieties with the smallest admixture of earth and of stone are approved of, they are melted and washed like dross. It is used in preparing a particular emollient plaster for soothing and cooling ulcers and in plasters which are not applied with bandages but which they use as a liniment to promote cicatrization on the bodies of delicate persons and on the more tender parts. It is a composition of three pounds of sulphide of lead and one of wax with half a pint of oil, which is added with solid lees of olives in the case of an elderly patient. Also combined with scum of silver and dross of lead it is applied warm for fomenting dysentery and constipation.

LIV 'Psimithium' also, that is cerussa or lead acetate,^b is produced at lead-works. The most highly spoken of is in Rhodes. It is made from very fine shavings of lead placed over a vessel of very sour vinegar and so made to drip down. What falls from the lead into the actual vinegar is dried and then ground and sifted, and then again mixed with vinegar and divided into tablets and dried in the sun, in summertime. There is also another way of making it, by putting the lead into jars of vinegar kept sealed up for ten days and then scraping off the sort of decayed metal on it and putting it back in

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

176 materia quod deiasum est, teritur et cibratur et coquitur in patinis misceturque iudiculis, donec rufescat et simile sandaracae fiat dein lavatur dulci aqua, donec nubeculae omnes eluantur siccatur postea similiter et in pastillos dividitur vis eius eadem quae supra dictis, lenissima tantum ex omnibus, praeterique ad candorem feminarium est autem letalis potu sicut spuma argenti postea cerussa ipsa, si coquatur, rufescit

177 LV Sandaracae quoque propemodum dicta natura est invenitur autem et in auratus et in aargentatus metallis, melior quo magis rufa quoque magis viuis sulphuris¹ redolens ac pura friabilisque valet purgare, sistere, excalfacere, erodere, summa eius dote septica explet alopecias ex aceto inliti, additur oculorum medicamentis, fauces purgat cum melle sumpta vocemque limpidadam et canoram facit, suspiriosis et tussientibus iucunde medetur cum resina terebinthina in cibo sumpta, suffita quoque cum cedro ipso nidore isdem medetur

178 LVI Et arrhenicum ex eadem est materia quod optimum, coloris etiam in auro excellentis, quod vero pallidius aut sandaracae simile est, determinatur iudicatur est et tertium genus, quo miscetur aureus color sandaracae utique haec squamosa,

¹ sulphuris *al d Mayhoff*

^a Red sulphide of arsenic

^b Yellow sulphide of arsenic

the vinegar, till the whole of it is used up. The stuff scraped off is ground up and sifted and heated in shallow vessels and stirred with small rods till it turns red and becomes like sandarach, *realgar*^a. Then it is washed with flesh water till all the cloudy impurities have been removed. Afterwards it is dried in a similar way and divided into tablets. Its properties are the same as those of the substances mentioned above, only it is the mildest of them all, and beside that, it is useful for giving women a fair complexion, but like scum of silver, it is a deadly poison. The lead acetate itself if afterwards melted becomes red.

LV Of realgar also the properties have been *realgar* almost completely described. It is found both in goldmines and silvermines, the redder it is and the more it gives off a poisonous scent of sulphur and the purer and more friable it is, the better it is. It acts as a cleanse, as a check to bleeding, as a calorific and a caustic, being most remarkable for its corrosive property, used as a liniment with vinegar it removes fox-mange, it forms an ingredient in eye-washes, and taken with honey it cleans out the throat. It also produces a clear and melodious voice, and mixed with turpentine and taken in the food, is an agreeable remedy for asthma and cough, its vapour also remedies the same complaints if merely used as a fumigation with cedar wood.

LVI Orpiment^b also is obtained from the same *Orpiment* substance. The best is of a colour of even the finest-coloured gold, but the palest sort or what resembles sandarach is judged inferior. There is also a third class which combines the colours of gold and of sandarach. Both of the latter are scaly, but

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

illud vero siccum purumque, gracili venarum discursu
fissile vis eadem quae supia, sed acier itaque
et causticis additui et psilotus tollit et pterygia
digitorum carnesque narium et condylomata et
quidquid excrescit toretui, ut valdus¹ prosit, in
nova testa, donec mutet colorem

¹ valdus *B* validus *rell*

NOTE ON XXXIV 17 AND 70

The group of two figures (representing Harmodius and Aristogeiton) made by Antenor in bronze set up at Athens in 510-9 B C , was carried off by Xerxes in 480, and a new bronze pair was made by Critius and Nesiotes and set up at Athens in 477 Antenor's group was found by Alexander in Persia, and on his orders, it seems, one of his successors c 293-2 restored it to Athens, part of the original base of Critius' and Nesiotes' group, it seems, has now been found, the marble group now at Naples is thought to be a Roman copy of the same group and made in the 2nd cent A D The bearded head of Aristogeiton can be restored from a head in the Vatican Copies of this group can be seen on four Attic vases of the first half of the fifth century B C (Beazley, *Journ of Hellen Stud* LXVIII (1948), 28), and one of about 400 B C (W Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, p 6 and pl 6a)

the other is dry and pure, and divided in a delicate tracery of veins. Its properties are the same as mentioned above, but more active. Accordingly it is used as an ingredient in cauteries and depilatories. It also removes overgrowths of flesh on to the nails, and pimples in the nostrils and swellings of the anus and all excrescences. To increase its efficacy it is heated in a new earthenware pot till it changes its colour.

also in the sketch in low relief on a marble throne now at Broomhall. Other copies of Critius' and Nesiotes' work such as that on a coin of Cyzicus c. 420 BC, those on Athena's shield depicted on three Attic amphorae of c. 400 BC (or a later date), and that on an Athenian tetradrachm of c. 400 BC, are probably imitations made from memory. C. Seltman's opinion that the Broomhall relief suggests a copy of Antenor's group is doubtful (Seltman, *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.*, LXVII (1947), 22-27). The group made by Praxiteles (Pliny, XXXIV 70) was no doubt a fresh creation of his own unless there is some blunder on Pliny's part.

BOOK XXXV

LIBER XXXV

1 Metallorum, quibus opes constant, adgnas-
centiumque us natura indicata propemodum est,
ita conexis rebus, ut immensa medicinae silva
officinaliumque tenebriae et morosa caelandi fingen-
dique ac tinguendi subtilitas simul diceantur
restant teriae ipsius genera lapidumque vel nu-
merosiore¹ serie,² pluimis singula a³ Graecis pia-
cipue voluminibus tractata nos in us brevitatem
sequemui utilem instituto, modo nihil necessarium
2 aut naturale omittentes, priumque dicemus quae
restant de pictura, arte quondam nobili—tunc cum
expeteretum legibus populisque—et alios nobilitante,
quos esset dignata posteris tradere, nunc vero in
totum marmoribus pulsa, iam quidem et auro, nec
tantum ut parietes toti operiantur, verum et interraso
marmore vermiculatisque ad effigies reium et
3 animalium crustis non placent iam abaci nec spatia
montes in cubiculo dilatantia⁴ coepimus et lapidem⁵
pingere hoc Claudi principatu inventum, Neionis

¹ numerosioie Gelen numerosiores

² serie Gelen seriae B eiae aut aeriae aut sim rell

³ a fortasse delendum (Mayhoff)

⁴ dilatata coni Ian dilatant iam Detlefsen

⁵ lapidem cd Par Iat 6797, cd Par 6801 lapide rell

^a This translates *lapidem*. If we read *lapide* ‘with stone,’ Pliny would mean a kind of mosaic. But see §§ 116, 118

BOOK XXXV

I We have now practically indicated the nature of metals, in which wealth consists, and of the substances related to them, connecting the facts in such a way as to indicate at the same time the enormous topic of medicine and the mysteries of the manufacturers and the fastidious subtlety of the processes of carving and modelling and dyeing. There remain the various kinds of earth and of stones, forming an even more extensive series, each of which has been treated in many whole volumes, especially by Greeks. For our part in these topics we shall adhere to the brevity suitable to our plan, yet omitting nothing that is necessary or follows a law of Nature. And first we shall say what remains to be said about painting, an art that was formerly illustrious, at the time when it was in high demand with kings and nations and when it ennobled others whom it deigned to transmit to posterity. But at the present time it has been entirely ousted by marbles, and indeed finally also by gold, and not only to the point that whole party-walls are covered—we have also marble engraved with designs and embossed marble slabs carved in wriggling lines to represent objects and animals. We are no longer content with panels nor with surfaces displaying broadly a range of mountains in a bedchamber, we have begun even to paint on the masonry^a. This was invented in the

Painting

vero maculas, quae non essent in crustis, inseriendo unitatem variare ut ovatus esset Numidicus, ut purpuri distingueetur Synnadicus, qualiter illos nasci optassent deliciae montium haec subsidia deficientium, nec cessat luxuria id ageere, ut quam pluviuum incendus perdat

⁴ II Imaginum quidem pictura, qua maxime similes in aevum propagabantur figurae, in totum exolevit aerei ponuntur clipei argentea facie,¹ suido figurarum discrimine, statuarum capita permutantur, volgatis iam pridem salibus etiam carminum adeo materiam conspici malunt omnes quam se nosci, et inter haec pinacothecas veteribus tabulis consuunt² alienasque effigies colunt, ipsi honorem non nisi in pretio 5 ducentes, ut frangat heres forasque³ detrahatur laqueo⁴ itaque nullius effigie vivente imagines pecuniae, non suas, relinquunt idem palaestrae⁵ athletarum imaginibus et ceromata sua exoriant, Epicuri voltus per cubicula gestant ac circumferunt secum natali eius sacrificant, feriasque omni mense vicesima luna⁶

¹ argentea facie *Mayhoff* argenteae facies

² conferviunt quidam apud *Dalecamp* compleat coni *Mayhoff*

³ forasque cd *Par* 6801 furisque rell forisque *Detlefsen* furisve coni *Brotier*

⁴ laqueo *Detlefsen* laqueis *Urlichs* laqueū aut laqueū

⁵ palaestrae coni *Mayhoff* palaestras

⁶ vicesima luna hic *Mayhoff* post custodiunt Ian post eius cdd

^a Of Synnada in Phrygia in Asia Minor

^b So that heads were put on bodies which did not belong to them

^c Ceromata, Greek for wax ointments used by athletes, and also denoting the rooms where these were applied before or after a match

^d Greek εικάς, 20th day

principate of Claudius, while in the time of Nero a plan was discovered to give variety to uniformity by inserting markings that were not present in the embossed marble surface, so that Numidian stone might show oval lines and Synnadic^a marble be picked out with purple, just as fastidious luxury would have liked them to be by nature. These are our resources to supplement the mountains when they fail us, and luxury is always busy in the effort to secure that if a fire occurs it may lose as much as possible.

II The painting of portraits, used to transmit *Portraits* through the ages extremely correct likenesses of persons, has entirely gone out. Bronze shields are now set up as monuments with a design in silver, with a dim outline of men's figures, heads of statues are exchanged for others,^b about which before now actually sarcastic epigrams have been current so universally is a display of material preferred to a recognizable likeness of one's own self. And in the midst of all this, people tapestry the walls of their picture-galleries with old pictures, and they prize likenesses of strangers, while as for themselves they imagine that the honour only consists in the price, for then how to break up the statue and haul it out of the house with a noose. Consequently nobody's likeness lives and they leave behind them portraits that represent their money, not themselves. The same people decorate even their own anointing-rooms^c with portraits of athletes of the wrestling-ring, and display all round their bedrooms and carry about with them likenesses of Epicurus, they offer sacrifices on his birthday, and keep his festival which they call the *eikas*^d on the 20th day of every

custodiunt, quas icadas vocant, si maxime, qui se ne
 viventes quidem nosci volunt ita est profecto
 ait desidia perdidit, et quoniam animorum imagines
 non sunt, negleguntur etiam corporum alitei apud
 maiores in atius haec erant, quae spectarentur, non
 signa externorum artificum nec aera aut marmora
 expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur ai-
 manus, ut essent imagines, quae comitarentur
 gentilicia funera, semperque defuncto aliquo totus
 aderat familiae eius qui umquam fuerat populus
 stemmata vero lineis¹ discurrebant ad imagines
 pictas tabulina codicibus implebantur et monumentis
 ieiunum in magistratu gestarum aliae foris et circa
 limina animorum ingentium imagines erant adfixis
 hostium spolis, quae nec empori refigere licet,
 triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis aeternae²
 domus erat haec stimulatio³ ingens, exprobiantibus
 tectis cotidie in bellem dominum intrare in alienum
 triumphum exstat Messalae orationis indignatio,
 quae prohibuit inseri genti suae Laevinorum alienam
 imaginem similis causa Messalae seni expressit
 volumina illa quae de familiis condidit, cum Scipionis
 Pomponiani transisset atrium vidissetque adoptione
 testamentaria Salvittones—hoc enim fuerat cogno-

¹ Inteis *Frohner coll* 51

aeternae *Mayhoff* ipsae *Gelen* emptae *Ian*, *Urlichs*
 tamen *coni Silig* et me *cdd* (etia *B²*)

³ stimulatio *Gelen* stimmatio *B¹* estimatio (*deleto haec*)
B stima ratio rell (summa r cd *Par Lat* 6797)

^a A maxim of Epicurus was Λαθε βιώσας 'live unnoticed'

^b In private houses

^c A branch of the Gens Valeria, to which the Messilae also belonged

month—these of all people, whose desire it is not to be known even when alive.^a That is exactly how things are indolence has destroyed the arts, and since our minds cannot be portrayed, our bodily features are also neglected. In the halls of our ancestors it was otherwise, portraits were the objects displayed to be looked at, not statues by foreign artists, nor bronzes nor marbles, but wax models of faces were set out each on a separate side-board, to furnish likenesses to be carried in procession at a funeral in the clan, and always when some member of it passed away the entire company of his house that had ever existed was present. The pedigrees too were traced in a spread of lines running near the several painted portraits. The archive-rooms^b were kept filled with books of records and with written memorials of official careers. Outside the houses and round the doorways there were other presentations of those mighty spirits, with spoils taken from the enemy fastened to them, which even one who bought the house was not permitted to unfasten, and the mansions eternally celebrated a triumph even though they changed their masters. This acted as a mighty incentive, when every day the very walls reproached an unworthy owner with intruding on the triumphs of another.^c There is extant an indignant speech by the pleader Messala protesting against the insertion among the likenesses of his family of a bust not belonging to them but to the family of the Laevini.^d A similar reason extracted from old Messala the volumes he composed ‘On Families, because when passing through the hall of Scipio Pomponianus he had observed the Salvittones^d—that was their

^a Probably, like the Scipios, a branch of the Gens Cornelia

men—Africanorum dedecori iniepentes Scipionum nomini sed—pace Messalarum divisso liceat—etiam mentiri clavorum imagines erat aliquis virtutum amori multoque honestius quam merenti, ne quis suas expeteret

9 Non est piaetereundum et novicium inventum, siquidem non¹ ex auro argento, at² certe ex aere in bibliothecis dicantur illis, quoium immortales animae in locis usdem loquuntur, quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, parvuntque desideria non 10 traditos vultus, sicut in Homeio evenit³ utique⁴ maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupeant, qualis fuerit aliquis Asini Pollio's hoc Romae inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit an priores coeparent Alex- andreae et Pergami reges, qui bibliothecas magno 11 certamine instituere, non facile dixerim imaginum amorem⁵ flagiasse quandam⁶ testes sunt Atticus ille Ciceronis edito de us volumine, M Varro benignissimo invento insertis voluminum suorum fecundi-

¹ nunc *Ian*, *Urlichs* icones *Deilefsen* non solum edd vett

² at *Mayhoff* aut

³ devenit *B* id evenit *Ian*

⁴ utique *coni* *Mayhoff* quo

⁵ amore *B* amore *rell*

⁶ (amore) quosdam *coni* *Brotier*

^a Scipio Africanus, victor over Hannibal in 202 B.C., and Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, who destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C.

former surname—in consequence of an act of adoption by will creeping into others' preserves, to the discredit of the Scipios called Africanus.^a But the Messala family must excuse me if I say that even to lay a false claim to the portraits of famous men showed some love for their virtues, and was much more honourable than to entail by one's conduct that nobody should seek to obtain one's own portraits!

We must not pass over a novelty that has also been invented, in that likenesses made, if not of gold or silver, yet at all events of bronze are set up in the libraries in honour of those whose immortal spirits speak to us in the same places, nay more, even imaginary likenesses are modelled and our affection gives birth to countenances that have not been handed down to us, as occurs in the case of Homer. At any rate in my view at all events there is no greater kind of happiness than that all people for all time should desire to know what kind of a man a person was. At Rome this practice originated with Asinius Pollio, who first by founding a library made works of genius the property of the public. Whether this practice began earlier, with the Kings of Alexandria and of Pergamum,^b between whom there had been such a keen competition in founding libraries, I cannot readily say. The existence of a strong passion for portraits in former days is evidenced by Atticus the friend of Cicero in the volume he published on the subject and by the most benevolent invention of Marcus Varro, who actually by some means inserted in a prolific output of

^a Ptolemy I of Egypt (died 283 B.C.) and Attalus I of Pergamum (241–197 B.C.) both founded libraries. Two at Alexandria became famous under Ptolemies II and III.

tati etiam¹ septingentorum inlustrium aliquo modo imaginibus, non passus⁶ intercidere figuras aut vetustatem aevi contra homines valeat, invento muneris etiam dis invidiosi, quando immortalitatem non solum dedit, verum etiam in omnes terras misit, ut praesentes esse ubique ceu² di possent et hoc quidem alienis ille praestitit

- 12 III Verum clupeos in sacro vel publico dicacie privatim prius instituit, ut reperio, Appius Claudius qui consul cum P Sevirlio fuit anno urbis CCLVIII posuit enim in Bellonae aede maiores suos, placuitque in excelso spectari et³ titulos honorum legi, decora res, utique si liberum turba parvulis imaginibus ceu nividum aliquem subolis pariter ostendat, quales clupeos nemo non gaudens favensque aspicit
- 13 IV post eum M Aemilius collega in consulatu Quinti Lutati non in basilica modo Aemilia, verum et domi suae posuit, id quoque Martio exemplo scutis enim, qualibus apud Troiam pugnatum est, continebantur imagines, unde et nomen habuerat clupeorum, non, ut perversa grammaticorum suptilitas voluit, a cluendo origo plena virtutis,

¹ fecunditati etiam Mayhoff f hominum Detlefsen fecunditatum B¹, cd Leid Voss, cd Flor Ricc fecunditati B² fecunditantium non nominibus tantum cd Par Iat 6797

² ceu di M Hertz, Urlichs cludi

³ et coni Warmington in (recte?)

^a E.g. the shield of Achilles, *Iliad* XVIII, 478 ff., and the shield of Aeneas, *Aeneid* VIII, 625 ff.

volumes portraits of seven hundred famous people, not allowing their likenesses to disappear or the lapse of ages to prevail against immortality in men. Herein Varro was the inventor of a benefit that even the gods might envy, since he not only bestowed immortality but despatched it all over the world, enabling his subjects to be ubiquitous, like the gods. This was a service Varro rendered to strangers.

III But the first person to institute the custom of privately dedicating the shields with portraits in a temple or public place, I find, was Appius Claudius, the consul with Publius Servilius in the 259th year of the city. He set up his ancestors in the shrine of the Goddess of War, and desired them to be in full view on an elevated spot, and the inscriptions stating their honours to be read. This is a seemly device, especially if miniature likenesses of a swarm of children at the sides display a sort of brood of nestlings. Shields of this description every body views with pleasure and approval. IV After him Marcus Aemilius, Quintus Lutatius's colleague in the consulship, set up portrait-shields not only in the Basilica Aemilia but also in his own home, and in doing this he was following a truly warlike example, for the shields which contained the likenesses resembled those^a employed in the fighting at Troy, and this indeed gave them their name of *clipei*,^b which is not derived from the word meaning 'to be celebrated,' as the misguided ingenuity of scholars has made out. It is a copious inspiration of valour for there to be a representation on a shield of the

^a Pliny means that *clupeus* is derived from γλύφω, to carve or emboss, not from the old Latin *cluo* or *clueo*, to be reputed famous.

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faciem reddi in scuto eius¹ qui fuerit usus illo
 14 Poeni ex auro factitaveré et clupeos et imagines
 secumque vexere in castis² certe captis talem
 Hasdrubalis invenit Marcius, Scipionum in Hispania
 ulti, isque clupeus supia foies Capitolinae aedis
 usque ad incendium primum fuit maiorum quidem
 nostrorum tanta securitas in ea re adnotatur, ut
 L Manlio Q Fulvio eos anno ubi³ DLXXV M
 Aufidius tutelae Capitolii³ redemptor docuerit
 paties aigenteos esse clupeos, qui pro aereis⁴ per
 aliquot iam lustria adsignabantur

15 V De pictuæ initus incerta nec instituti operis
 quaestio est Aegypti sex milibus annorum apud
 ipsos inventam, priusquam in Graeciam transiret,
 adfirmant, vana piaedicatione, ut palam est, Graeci
 autem alii Sycone, alii apud Corinthios repertam,
 omnes umbra hominis lineis circumducta, itaque
 primam talem, secundam singulis coloribus et
 monochromaton⁵ dictam, postquam operiosior in-
 16 venta erat, duratque talis etiam nunc inventam
 liniarem a Philocle Aegyptio vel Cleanthe Corinthio

¹ eius *Detlefsen* eiusque *B*² cuiusque

² vexere in castris *Mayhoff* in castris vexere *B* 1 c
 tulere cd *Par* 6801 1 c venere *rell*

³ Capitolio *B* capitoli cd *Leid* *Loss*

⁴ aureis *Detlefsen*

⁵ e monochromato *B* et monochromaton *rell*

^a Publius and Gnaeus Scipio were destroyed in Spain by the Carthaginians, 212-211 B.C. L. Marcius and T. Fonteius prevented further disasters

^b A conjectural alteration gives 'gold'

countenance of him who once used it. The Carthaginians habitually made both shields and statues of gold, and carried these with them at all events. Marcius, who took vengeance for the Scipios in Spain,^a found a shield of this kind that belonged to Hasdrubal, in that general's camp when he captured it, and this shield was hung above the portals of the temple on the Capitol till the first fire. Indeed it is noticed that our ancestors felt so little anxiety about this matter that in the 575th year of the city, 179 B.C. when the consuls were Lucius Manlius and Quintus Fulvius, the person who contracted for the safety of the Capitol, Marcus Aufidius, informed the Senate that the shields which for a good many censorship periods past had been scheduled as made of bronze^b were really silver.

V The question as to the origin of the art of painting is uncertain^c and it does not belong to the plan of this work. The Egyptians declare that it was invented among themselves six thousand years ago before it passed over into Greece—which is clearly an idle assertion. As to the Greeks, some of them say it was discovered at Sicyon, others in Corinth, but all agree that it began with tracing an outline round a man's shadow^d and consequently that pictures were originally done in this way, but the second stage when a more elaborate method had been invented was done in a single colour and called monochrome,^e a method still in use at the present day. Line-drawing was invented by the Egyptian Philocles or by the Corinthian Cleanthes,

^c Cf VII 205 A Rumpf, *Journ of Hellenic St* LXVII, 10 ff

^d But study of extant ancient art refutes this idea

^e See §§ 29, 56

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primi exercueit Aridices¹ Corinthius et Telephanes Sicyonius, sine ullo etiamnum hi colore, iam tamen spargentes linas intus ideo et quos pinxere² adscribere institutum primus inlevit³ eas colore⁴ testae, ut ferunt, tritae⁵ Ephantus⁶ Corinthius hunc eodem nomine alium⁷ fuisse quam⁸ tradit Cornelius Nepos secutum in Italiam Damaratum, Tarquinii Prisci regis Romani patrem, fugientem a Corintho tyranni iniurias Cypseli, mox docebimus

- 17 VI Iam enim absoluta erat pictura etiam in Italia exstant certe hodieque antiquiores urbe picturæ Ardeæ in aedibus sacris, quibus equidem nullas aequæ muor, tam longo aevo durantes⁹ in orbitate tecti veluti recentes⁹ similiter Lanuvii, ubi Atalante et Helena comminus pictæ sunt nudæ ab eodem artifice, utraque excellentissima forma, sed altera ut virgo, ne ruinis quidem tempore concussae Gaius princeps tollere eas conatus est libidine accensus, si tectorum natura permisisset durant et Caere antiquiores et ipsae, fatebiturque quisquis eas diligenter aestimaverit nullam artium celerius consummatam, cum Ilacis temporibus non fuisse eam appareat

¹ Aridices *Sillig*, *Keil* aradices *B* ardices *rell*

² pinxere *Mayhoff* pingerent *edd* vett pingere

³ inlevit *Urlichs* invenit

⁴ colore *B* colores *rell* colorare *Gelen* colorare colore

Ian

⁵ tritae *Sillig* triste *B¹* triste *B²* ita aut it *rell*

⁶ Ephantus *Sillig*, *O Jahn* elephantus *B* elephantus *rell*

⁷ eundem nomine alio *Schultz*

⁸ *V l* quem quam quem *Sillig*, *Ian*

⁹ *V l* durantis recentis durantibus recentibus
coni *Sillig*

but it was first practised by the Corinthian Aridores and the Sicyonian Telephanes—these were at that stage not using any colour, yet already adding lines here and there to the interior of the outlines, hence it became then custom to write on the pictures the names of the persons represented. Ecpphantus of Corinth is said to have been the first to daub these drawings with a pigment made of powdered earthenware. We shall show below that this was another § 152 person, bearing the same name, not the one recorded by Cornelius Nepos to have followed into Italy Demaratus the father of the Roman king Tarquinius ^{trad. 616} Priscus when he fled from Corinth to escape the violence of the tyiant Cypselus ^{578 B.C.}

VI For the art of painting had already been brought to perfection even in Italy. At all events there survive even to-day in the temples at Aidea paintings that are older than the city of Rome, which to me at all events are incomparably remarkable, surviving for so long a period as though freshly painted, although unprotected by a roof. Similarly at Lanuvium, where there are an Atalanta and a Helena close together, nude figures, painted by the same artist, each of outstanding beauty (the former shown as a virgin), and not damaged even by the collapse of the temple. The Emperor Caligula from AD 37 lustful motives attempted to remove them, but the consistency of the plaster would not allow this to be done. There are pictures surviving at Caele that are even older. And whoever carefully judges these works will admit that none of the arts reached full perfection more quickly, inasmuch as it is clear that painting did not exist in the Trojan period.

19 VII Apud Romanos quoque honos matuē huic
arti contigit, siquidem cognomina ex ea Pictorum
traxerunt Fabii clariissimae gentis, princepsque eius
cognominis ipse aedem Salutis pinxit anno urbis
conditae CCCCL quae pictura duxit ad nostram
memoriam iude ea Claudi principatu exusta
proxime celebita est in foio boario aede Herculis
Pacui poetae pictura Enni sorore genitus hic fuit
clariorisque aitem eam Romae fecit gloria scaenae
20 postea non est spectata honestis manibus, nisi forte
quis Turpilum equitem Romanum e Venetia nostiae
aetatis velit referre, pulchris eius operibus hodieque
Veronae extantibus laeva is manu pinxit, quod
de nullo ante memorati parvis¹ glorabatur
tabellis extinctus nupei in longa senecta Titedius²
Labeo praetorius, etiam proconsulatu provinciae
Narbonensis functus, sed ea i.e. inrisa³ etiam con-
21 tumeliae erat fuit et principum virorum non
omittendum de pictura celebre consilium, cum
Q Pedius, nepos Q Pedii consularis triumphalisque
et a Caesare dictatore coheredis Augusto dati,
natura mutus esset in eo Messala orator, ex
cuius familia pueri avia fuerat, picturam docendum

¹ paruisse *B* parvis ipse *con*2** *Mayhoff*

² Titedius *B* sit edius *rell* Titidius *Silling* Antistius
Hardouin Aterius *edd* *vett*

³ inrisa *Mayhoff* inrisu *B* in risu *rell* (irrisu *cd* *Par I at 6797*)

^a Roman writer of tragedies, c. 220-c. 130 B.C.

^b Famous Roman epic and dramatic poet 239-169 B.C.

VII In Rome also honour was fully attained by this art at an early date ^{Early Roman painting and painters} inasmuch as a very distinguished clan of the Fabii derived from it their surname of Pictor, ' Painter,' and the first holder of the name himself painted the Temple of Health in the year 450 from the foundation of the City ^{301 B.C.} the work survived down to our own period, when the temple was destroyed by fire in the principate of Claudius. Next in celebrity was a painting by the poet Pacuvius ^a in the temple of Hercules in the Cattle Market. Pacuvius was the son of a sister of Ennius,^b and he added distinction to the art of painting at Rome by reason of his fame as a playwright. After Pacuvius, painting was not esteemed as handiwork for persons of station, unless one chooses to recall a knight of Rome named Turpilius, from Venetia, in our own generation, because of his beautiful works still surviving at Verona. Turpilius painted with his left hand, a thing recorded of no preceding artist. Titedius Labeo, a man of praetorian rank who had actually held the office of Proconsul of the Province of Narbonne, and who died lately in extreme old age, used to be proud of his miniatures, but this was laughed at and actually damaged his reputation. There was also a celebrated debate on the subject of painting held between some men of eminence which must not be omitted, when the former consul and winner of a triumph Quintus Pedius, who was appointed by the Dictator ^{49-41 B.C.} Caesar as his joint heir with Augustus, had a grandson Quintus Pedius who was born dumb, in this debate the orator Messala, of whose family the boy's grandmother had been a member, gave the advice that the boy should have lessons in painting, and

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censuit, idque etiam divus Augustus comprobavit,
 22 puer magni praefectus in ea arte obut dignatio
 autem praecipua Romae increvit, ut existimo, a
 M' Valerio Maximo Messala, qui princeps tabulam
 [picturam]¹ proelii, quo Carthaginenses et Hieronem
 in Sicilia vicerat, proposuit in lateie curiae Hostiliae
 anno ab urbe condita ccccxc fecit hoc idem et
 L Scipio tabulamque victoriae suaee Asiaticae in
 Capitolio posuit, idque aegre tulisse, fratrem Afri-
 canum triadunt, haut inmeito, quando filius eius
 23 illo proelio captus fuerat non dissimilem offendio-
 nem et Aemiliani subuit L Hostilius² Mancinus,
 qui primus Carthaginem iniuperat, situm eius
 oppugnationesque depictas proponendo in foio et
 ipse adiustens populo spectanti singula enarrando,
 qua comitate proximis comitis consulatum adeptus
 est habuit et scaena ludis Claudi Pulchri magnam
 admirationem picturæ, cum ad tegularum simili-
 tudinem corvi decepti imagine³ advolarent

24 VIII Tabulis autem externis auctoritatem
 Romae publice fecit primus omnium L Mummius,
 cui cognomen Achiaci victoria dedit namque cum
 in piaeda vendenda rex Attalus⁴ X^v_i⁵ emisset
 tabulam Aristidis, Liberum patrem, pietum miratus

¹ Mayhoff picturā B pictam rell
 hostilim S B hostilius M f comi Ian

³ I l imaginem imagini Ian

⁴ rex attalus distrauisset et cd Par 6801

⁵ X^v_i Detlefsen x^v_i Hardouin xvi aut xiii cdd

^a Over Antiochus III in 190 b c

^b Mancinus commanded the Roman fleet in the Third
 Punic War when Carthage was taken and destroyed by
 Scipio Aemilianus in 146 b c

^c Over the Greeks in 146 b c when Mummius destroyed
 Corinth

his late lamented Majesty Augustus also approved of the plan. The child made great progress in the art, but died before he grew up. But painting chiefly derived its rise to esteem at Rome, in my judgement, from Manius Valerius Maximus Messala, who in the year 490 after the foundation of the ^{264 BC} city first showed a picture in public on a side wall of the Cūia Hostilia the subject being the battle in Sicily in which he had defeated the Carthaginians and Hiero. The same thing was also done by Lucius Scipio, who put up in the Capitol a picture of his Asiatic victory ^a this is said to have annoyed his brother Africanus, not without reason, as his son had been taken prisoner in that battle. Also Lucius Hostilius Mancinus ^b who had been the first to force an entrance into Carthage incurred a very similar offence with Aemilianus by displaying in the forum a picture of the plan of the city and of the attacks upon it and by himself standing by it and describing to the public looking on the details of the siege, a piece of popularity-hunting which won him the consulship at the next election. Also the stage elected for the shows given by Claudio Pulcher ^{99 BC} won great admiration for its painting, as crows were seen trying to alight on the roof tiles represented on the scenery, quite taken in by its realism.

VIII The high esteem attached officially to ^{Foreign} paintings at Rome originated from Lucius ^{paintings} ^{Rome} Mummius who from his victory ^c received the surname of Achaicus. At the sale of booty captured ^{L Mum} King Attalus ^d bought for 600,000 denarii a picture ^{muis} of Father Liber or Dionysus by Alcistides, but the

^a Attalus II of Pergamum, 159-138 BC

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suspicatusque aliquid in ea virtutis, quod ipse nesciet, revocavit tabulam, Attalo multum querente, et in Cereus delubro posuit, quam primam arbitior picturam extenam Romae publicatam
 25 deinde video et in foio positas volgo hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub Veteribus, cum testis compellatus instaret dic eigo, Classe, qualem me noris? talem, inquit, ostendens in tabula inficitissime Gallum exerentem linguam in foro fuit et illa pastoris senis cum baculo, de qua Teutonorum legatus respondit interrogatus, quan-
 tine¹ eum aestimaret, donau sibi nolle talem vivum verumque
 26 IX Sed praecipuam auctoritatem publice tabulis fecit Caesar dictator Aiacet Media ante Veneis Genetricis aedem dicatis, post eum M Agrippa, vii iustitati propior quam deliciis exstat certe eius oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarium exilia pelli verum eadem illa torvitas tabulas duas Aiacis et Veneis mercata est a Cyzicenus HS² [XII],³ in thermarum quoque

¹ quanti cd Par 6801² HS Gelen h ~~III~~ B¹ his B^o om yell³ [XII] Ian alii alia XII B XIII yell

^a With regard to this story (i) there was no auction of pictures, Mummius took to Rome the most valuable and handed over the rest to Philopoemen (ii) Attalus was not present at Corinth (where this scene occurred) When the Roman soldiers were using the pictures as dice boards, Philopoemen offered M 100 talents if he should assign Aristides' picture to Attalus' share (Paus VII, 16, 1, 8, Stiabo VIII, 4 23 = 381)

price surprised Mummius, who suspecting there must be some merit in the picture of which he was himself unaware had the picture called back, in spite of Attalus's strong protests, and placed it in the Shrine of Ceres the first instance, I believe, of a foreign picture becoming state-property at Rome.^a After this I see that they were commonly placed even in the forum to this is due the famous witticism of the pleader Crassus, when appearing in a case Below The Old Shops, a witness called kept asking him 'Now tell me, Crassus, what sort of a person do you take me to be?' 'That sort of a person,' said Crassus, pointing to a picture of a Gaul putting out his tongue^b in a very unbecoming fashion. It was also in the forum that there was the picture of the Old Shepherd with his Staff, about which the Teuton envoy when asked what he thought was the value of it said that he would rather not have even the living original as a gift!

IX But it was the Dictator Caesar who gave *Caesar* outstanding public importance to pictures by dedicating paintings of Ajax and Medea in front of the 46 B.C. temple of Venus Genetrix, and after him Marcus 63-12 B.C. Agrippa, a man who stood nearer to rustic simplicity than to refinements. At all events there is preserved a speech of Agrippa, lofty in tone and worthy of the greatest of the citizens, on the question of making all pictures and statues national property, a procedure which would have been preferable to banishing them to country houses. However, that same severe spirit paid the city of Cyzicus 1,200,000 sestertes for two pictures, an Ajax and an Aphrodite, he had also had small paintings let into the marble

^b Not apparently as in insult but as an averting act

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calidissima parte marmoibus incluserat parvas tabellas, paulo ante, cum reficerentur, sublatas

- 27 X Super omnes divus Augustus in foro suo celeberima in parte posuit tabulas duas, quae Belli faciem pictam habent et Triumphum, item Castores ac Victoria posuit et quas dicemus sub artificum mentione in templo Caesaris patris idem in curia quoque, quam in comitio consecrabat, duas tabulas impressit pari et Nemean sedentem cupia leonem, palmigeriam ipsam, adstante¹ cum baculo sene, cuius supra caput tabella bigae dependet, Nicias scupsit² se inussisse, tali enim usus est verbo
 28 alterius tabulae admittatio est puberem filium seni patri similem esse aetatis salva differentia, super volante aquila draconem complexa Philochaires hoc suum opus esse testatus est, immensa, vel unam tantum hanc tabulam aliquis aestimet, potentia artis, cum propter Philochairem ignobilissimos alioqui Glaucionem filiumque eius Aristippum senatus populi Romani tot saeculis spectet¹ posuit et Tiberius Caesar, minime comis imperator, in templo ipsius Augusti quas mox indicabimus hactenus dictum sit de dignitate artis morientis

- 29 XI Quibus coloribus singulis primi pinnassent dirimus, cum de us pigmentis tradieremus in metallis,

¹ adstante *edd iett* adstantem
- ascripsit *coni Mayhoff*

^a Castor and Pollux (Polydeuces)

^b Julius Caesar who had adopted Augustus

^c The Nemean forest (personified) where Heracles killed the Nemean lion

^d See pp 356-9

even in the warmest part of his Hot Baths, which were removed a short time ago when the Baths were being repaired

X His late lamented Majesty Augustus went beyond all others, in placing two pictures in the most frequented part of his forum, one with a likeness of War and Triumph, and one with the Castors^a and Victory. He also erected in the Temple of his father Caesar^b pictures we shall specify in giving the names of artists § 91
Augustus and Tiberius
 He likewise let into a wall in the curia which he was dedicating in the comitium a Nemea^c seated on a lion, holding a palm-branch in her hand, and standing at her side an old man leaning on a stick and with a picture of a two-horse chariot hung up over his head, on which there was an inscription saying that it was an ‘encaustic’ design—such is the term which he employed—by Nicias^d. The second picture is remarkable for displaying the close family likeness between a son in the prime of life and an elderly father, allowing for the difference of age above them soars an eagle with a snake in its claws, Philochares has stated this work to be by him showing the immeasurable power exercised by art if one merely considers this picture alone, inasmuch as thanks to Philochares two otherwise quite obscure persons Glaucio and his son Aristippus after all these centuries have passed still stand in the view of the senate of the Roman nation! The most ungracious emperor Tiberius also placed pictures in the temple AD 14–37 of Augustus himself which we shall soon mention § 181
 Thus much for the dignity of this now expiring art

XI We stated what were the various single colours used by the first painters when we were discussing while on the subject of metals the pig-¹¹⁷ *Painters' colours* ^{XXXIII,}

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quae¹ monochromata a² genere³ pictuæ vocantur⁴ qui deinde et quæ invenerint et quibus temporibus, dicemus in mentione artificum, quoniam indicare natuas colorum præior causa operis instituti est tandem se aīs ipsa distinxit et invenit lumen atque umbras, differentia colorum alteina vice sese excitante postea deinde adiectus est splendor, alius hic quam lumen quod inter haec et umbras esset, appellauit tonon, commissuas vero colorum et transitus harmogen

30 XII Sunt autem colores austeri aut floridi utrumque natura aut mixtura evenit floridi sunt —quos dominus pingenti⁵ praestat—minium, Armenium, cinnabaris, chrysocolla, Indicum, purpurossum, ceteri austeri ex omnibus ali nascuntur, ali fiunt nascuntur Sinopis, iubrica, Paracetonium, Melnum, Eretria, auripigmentum, ceteri finguntur, primumque quos in metallis diuimus, piaeterea evilioibus ochia, cerussa usta, sandaraca, sandyx, Sylicum atramentum

¹ quae *Sillig* qui *cdd del Littre*

² monochromata a *Mayhoff* m e*Littre* monochromatae cd *Par* 6801 ut uidetur mox negrammatae a *B* mox neogrammatea *rell*

³ genere *Mayhoff* genera

⁴ vocantur *B* vocaverunt *rell*

⁵ pingenti ed *Basil* fingenti

^a Study of ancient art does not show that painting started with the use of single colours

^b The Greek term ἀρμοῦν means adjustment of parts

^c Minium See § 33 (note) and XXXIII, 111–123

^d A rich blue colour (from Armenia), the modern iurite
See also § 47

^e Cinnabaris here in Pliny See XXXIII, 115–116

^f Our ‘malachite’

^g Earth stained with Tyrian purple

ments called monochromes from the class of painting for which they are used. Subsequent ^a inventions and then authors and dates we shall specify in §§ 5^o ^{and} 7^o ^{and} 8^o enumerating the artists, because a prior motive for the work now in hand is to indicate the nature of colours. Eventually art differentiated itself, and discovered light and shade, contrast of colours heightening their effect reciprocally. Then came the final adjunct of shine, quite a different thing from light. The opposition between shine and light on the one hand and shade on the other was called contrast, while the juxtaposition of colours and their passage one into another was termed attunement ^b.

XII Some colours are sombre and some brilliant, the difference being due to the nature of the substances or to their mixture. The brilliant colours, which the patron supplies at his own expense to the painter, are cinnabar,^c Armenium,^d dragon's blood,^e gold-solder,^f indigo, bright purple^g, the rest are sombre. Of the whole list some are natural colours and some artificial. Natural colours are sinopis,^h ruddle, Paraetonium,ⁱ Melinum,^j Eretian earth^k and oipment, all the rest are artificial, and first of all those which we specified among minerals, and moreover among the commoner kinds yellow ochre,^l burnt lead acetate, realgar, sandy x,^m Syrian colourⁿ and black^o

^h A brown red ochre or red oxide of iron from Sinope

ⁱ From a white chalk or calcium carbonate, and perhaps also steatite, of Paraetonium in N Africa, see note ^a on § 36

^j A white marl from Melos

^k From Eretria in Euboea, perhaps magnesite

^l Mixed oxide of lead and oxide of iron

^m See § 40

ⁿ See XXXIV, 112, 123

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- 31 XIII Sinopis inventa primum in Ponto est, inde nomen a Sinope urbe nascitur et in Aegypto, Balioribus, Africa, sed optima in Lemno et in Cappadocia, effossa e speluncis pais, quae saxis adhaesit, excellit glaebis suus colos, extre^m maculosus hac usi sunt veteres ad splendorem species Sinopidis tres rubra et minus iubens atque inter has media pretium optimae X II, usus ad penicillum aut si 32 lignum colorare libeat, eius, quae ex Africa venit, octoni asses—cicerulum appellant, magis ceteris iubet, utilior abacis idem pretium et eius, quae pressior vocatur, et est maxime fusca usus ad bases abacorum, in medicina vero blandus < pastillis >¹ emplastisque et malagmatis, sive sicca compositione sive liquida facilis, contra ulcera in umore sita, velut oris, sedis alvum sistit infusa, feminarum profluvia pota denarii pondere eadem adusta siccatur scabiosas oculorum, e vino maxime
- 33 XIV Rubiaceae genus in ea volueret intellegi quidam secundae auctoritatis, palmam enim Lemniae dabant minio proxima haec est, multum antiquis celebrata cum insula, in qua nascitur nec nisi signata venumdabatur, unde et sphagidem appell-

¹ *Mayhoff*

^a See note ^b, p 283

^b Dark brownish

^c This generally is the proper meaning of *minium* except when it is called *m̄ secundarium* = red lead See XXXIII, 111-123

XIII Sinopis^a was first discovered in Pontus, *Ochre of Sinope* and hence takes its name from the city of Sinope It is also produced in Egypt, the Balearic Islands and Africa, but the best is what is extracted from the caverns of Lemnos and Cappadocia, the part found adhering to the rock being rated highest The lumps of it are self-coloured, but speckled on the outside It was employed in old times to give a glow There are three kinds of Sinopis, the red, the faintly red and the intermediate The price of the best is 2 denarii a pound this is used for painting with a brush or else for colouring wood, the kind imported from Africa costs 8 *as*-pieces a pound, and is called chickpea colour^b, it is of a deeper red than the other kinds, and more useful for panels The same price is charged for the kind called 'low toned' which is of a very dusky colour It is employed for the lower parts of paneling, but used as a drug it has a soothing effect in <lozenges and> plasters and poultices, mixing easily either dry or moistened, as a remedy for ulcers in the humid parts of the body such as the mouth and the anus Used in an enema it arrests diarrhoea, and taken through the mouth in doses of one denarius weight it checks menstruation Applied in a burnt state, particularly with wine, it relieves roughnesses of the eyes

XIV Some persons have wished to make out that Sinopis only consists in a kind of red-ochre of inferior quality, as they gave the palm to the red ochre of Lemnos This last approximates very closely to cinnabar,^c and it was very famous in old days, together with the island that produces it, it used only to be sold in sealed packages, from which it got the name of 'seal red-ochre' It is used to

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

34 laverie hac minium sublinunt adulterantque in medicina piaeclaria res habet ut epiphoras enim oculorum mitigat ac dolores circumlita et aegilopia manare prohibet, sanguinem relictibus ex aceto datui bibenda bibit ut contra henum venumque virtus et purgationes feminarum, item et contra venena et serpentum ictus terrestrium marinorumque, omnibus ideo antidotis familiaris

35 XV Reliquis rubricae generibus fabris utilissima Aegyptia et Africana, quoniam maxime solubentur tectoris¹ rubrica² autem nascitur et in ferriuis metallis XVI Ea et fit ochra³ exusta in ollis novis luto circumlitis quo magis arsit in caminis, hoc melior omnis autem rubrica siccata ideoque ex⁴ emplastis conveniet⁵ igni etiam sacro

36 XVII Sinopidis Ponticae selviae silis lucidi libris et Melni Graecensis II mixtis tuncisque una per dies duodenos⁶ leucophorum fit hoc est glutinum aurum, cum inducitur ligno

XVIII Palaetonium loci nomen habet ex Aegypto spumam maris esse dicunt solidatam cum limo, et ideo conchae minutae inveniuntur in eo fit et in Creta insula atque Cyrenis adulteratum Romae creta Cimolia decocta conspissataque pretium optimo in pondo VI X L e candidis coloribus

¹ tectoris *Mayhoff* picturis

² rubrica *hic Mayhoff* infra post exusta

³ ea et fit ochra *Mayhoff* ex ea fit ochra aut ochra ex ea fit

⁴ ex aut et cdd (om *B*)

⁵ conveniet vel conveniat *Mayhoff* convenit et

⁶ duodenos *Mayhoff* duodenis *B* XII rell

^a Marsa Labit in N Africa, between Egypt and the Syrtes
Cf n on § 30

^b Cf XXXV, 195 ff

supply an undercoating to cinnabar and also for adulterating cinnabar. In medicine it is a substance ranked very highly. Used as a liniment round the eyes it relieves defluxions and pains, and checks the discharge from eye-tumours, it is given in vinegar as a draught in cases of vomiting or spitting blood. It is also taken as a draught for troubles of the spleen and kidneys and for excessive menstruation, and likewise as a remedy for poisons and snake bites and the sting of sea serpents, hence it is in common use for all antidotes.

XV Among the remaining kinds of red ochre the most useful for builders are the Egyptian and the African varieties, as they are most thoroughly absorbed by plaster. Red ochre is also found in a native state in iron mines. Other ochres XVI It is also manufactured by burning ochre in new earthen pots lined with clay. The more completely it is calcined in the furnaces the better its quality. All kinds of red ochre have a drying property, and consequently will be found suitable in plasters even for erysipelas.

XVII Half a pound of sinopis from Pontus, ten pounds of bright yellow ochre and two pounds of Greek earth of Melos mixed together and pounded up for twelve successive days make 'leucophorum,' Cf. xxxi
64. a cement used in applying gold-leaf to wood.

XVIII Paractonium is called after the place ^a White pigments of that name in Egypt. It is said to be sea-foam hardened with mud, and this is why tiny shells are found in it. It also occurs in the island of Crete and in Cyrene. At Rome it is adulterated with Cimolian clay ^b which has been boiled and thickened. The price of the best quality is 50 denarii per 6 lbs. It is the most greasy of all the white colours and makes

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

pinguissimum et tectorius¹ tenacissimum propter levorem

- 37 XIX Melinum candidum et ipsum est, optimum in Melo insula in Samo quoque² nascitur, eo non utuntur pictores propter nimiam pinguitudinem, accubantes effodiunt ibi inter sava venam scrutantes in medicina eundem usum habet quem Eretria creta, piaeterea linguam tactu siccata, pilos detrahit smectica vi³ pretium in libras sestertii singuli

Terius e candidis colos est cerussa, cuius rationem in plumbi metallis diximus fuit et terra per se in Theodoti fundo inventa Zmyrnae, qua veteres ad navium picturas utebantur nunc omnis ex plumbo et aceto fit, ut diximus

- 38 XX Usta casu reperta est in incendio Pnaei⁴ cerussa in urceis⁵ cremata hac primum usus est Nicias supra dictus optima nunc Asiatica habetur, quae et purpurea appellatur pretium eius in libras X vi fit et Romae cremato sile marmoroso et restincto aceto sine usta non fiunt umbrae

XXI Eretria teriae suae habet nomen hac Nicomachus et Pairhasius usi refrigeriat, emollit explet volneria, si coquatur, ad siccanda praecipitur, utilis⁶ et capitibus doloribus et ad deprehendenda

¹ tectorius *edd vett* tectorii *Mayhoff (recte?)* tectori *cdd*

² quod *Mayhoff*

³ smectica vi *Urlichs metcica* ut *cd Flor Ricc* meccica ut *cd Leid Voss, cd Par Lat 6797* metcica ut *B*

⁴ Piraei *Gelen* pyrae *edd vett* pna et

⁵ urceis *B²* urceis *B¹* orcis *vell* hortis *edd vett*

⁶ praecipitur, utilis *Mayhoff* praecoquitur utilis *B* utilis praecipua *vell*

^a See note^j on § 30

^b Perhaps lead carbonate, cerussite From Vitruv VII, 7, 4 we learn that it was green, perhaps because tinted with copper salts

the most tenacious for plasters because of its smoothness

XIX Melnum^a also is a white colour, the best occurring in the island of Melos. It is found in Samos also, but the Samian is not used by painters because it is excessively greasy. It is dug up in Samos by people lying on the ground and searching for a vein among the rocks. It has the same use in medicine as earth of Eretria, it also dries the tongue by contact, and acts as a depilatory, with a cleansing effect. It costs a sestertius a pound.

The third of the white pigments is ceruse or lead acetate, the nature of which we have stated in xxxiv speaking of the ores of lead. There was also once a native ceruse earth^b found on the estate of Theodotus at Smyrna, which was employed in old days for painting ships. At the present time all ceruse is manufactured from lead and vinegar, as we said.

XX Burnt ceruse was discovered by accident, *Ceruse, etc.* when some was burnt up in jars in a fire at Piraeus. It was first employed by Nicias above mentioned. Asiatic ceruse is now thought the best, it is also called purple ceruse and it costs 6 denarii per lb. It is also made at Rome by calcining yellow ochre which is as hard as marble and quenching it with vinegar. Burnt ceruse is indispensable for representing shadows.

XXI Eretrian earth^c is named from the country that produces it. It was employed by Nicomachus and Parhasius. It has cooling and emollient effects and fills up wounds, if boiled it is prescribed as a desiccative, and is useful for pains in the head and for detecting internal suppurations, as these are

^a See note ¹ on § 30

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

puta, subesse enim ea intellegunt, si ex aqua inlita
continuo¹ aescat

39 XXII Sandaracam et ochram Iuba tradidit in insula
Rubri maris Topazo nasci, sed inde non pervehuntur
ad nos sandaraca quomodo fieret diximus fit et
adulterina ex cerussa in fornace cocta color esse
debet flammeus pietum in libias asses quini

40 XXIII Haec si torreatur aequa parte iubrica
admixta, sandycem facit, quamquam animadverto
Vergilium existimasse herbam id esse illo versu

Sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet² agnos
pietum in libias dimidium eius quod sandaracae
nec sunt alii colores maioris pondoris

XXIV Inter factios est et Syriicum, quo minium
sublini diximus fit autem Sinopide et sandyce
mixtis

41 XXV Atiamentum quoque inter factios erit,
quamquam est et teriae,³ geminae originis aut
enim salsuginis modo emanat, aut terra ipsa sulphurei
coloris ad hoc probatur inventi sunt pictiores, qui
carbones infestatis⁴ sepulchris effoderent⁵ inpoi-
tuna haec omnia ac novicia fit enim e fuligine
pluribus modis, resina vel pice exustis, proptei

¹ inlita continuo *Mayhoff* inlita non *cdd* (inlidunt non *B*)

² vestiet *cd Par* 6801, item *Verg* vestiat *rell*

³ terrae aut terra *cdd* e terra *Madvig*

⁴ infestatis *Mayhoff* qui et infestantes sepulchra coni
infectant aut infectos *cdd* insectos coni *Sillig* adfectarent
Detlefsen (sepulchris carbones infectos *cd Par* 6801)

⁵ effoderent *cd Tolet*, *cl Par* 6801 effodere *B* infoderet
rell (infoderent *cd Par Lat* 6797)

^a Zebouget

^b Virg *Ecl IV*, 45 (*vestiet Virg*) There is no proof that
Virgil did take sandyx to be a plant

shown to be present if when it is applied with water it immediately dries up

XXII According to Juba sandarach or realgar and ochre are products of the island of Topazus^a in the Red Sea, but they are not imported from those parts to us. We have stated the method of making sandarach^{xxxiv}. An adulterated sandarach is also made from ceruse boiled in a furnace¹⁷⁷. It ought to be flame-coloured. Its price is 5 asses per lb.

XXIII If ceruse is mixed with red ochre in equal quantities and burnt, it produces sandyx or vermillion—though it is true that Virgil held the view that sandyx is a plant, from the line

Sandyx self-grown shall clothe the pasturing lambs^b

Its cost per lb is half that of sandarach. No other colours weigh heavier than these

XXIV Among the artificial colours is also Syrian colour, which as we said is used as an undercoating for cinnabar and red lead. It is made by mixing sinopis and sandyx together

XXV Black pigment will also be classed among the artificial colours, although it^c is also derived from earth in two ways, it either exudes from the earth like the brine in salt pits, or actual earth of a sulphur colour is approved for the purpose. Painters have been known to dig up charred remains from graves thus violated to supply it. All these plans are troublesome and new-fangled, for black paint can be made in a variety of ways from the soot produced by burning resin or pitch, owing to which

^a For this mineral shoemaker's black, see XXXIV, 112, 123. The other blacks which follow are mostly composed of carbon

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- quod etiam officinas aedificavere fumum eum non
 emittentes laudatissimum eodem modo fit e taedis
 adulteriati foīnacium balneariumque fuligine quo
 42 ad volumina scribenda utuntur sunt qui et vini
 faecem siccatam excoquant adfirmentque, si ex
 bono vino faex ea¹ fuerit, Indici speciem id atia-
 mentum praebere Polygnotus et Micon, cele-
 berrimi pictores, Athenis e vinaceis fecere, trygynon
 appellantes Apelles commentus est ex ebore
 43 combusto faceie, quod elephantinum vocatur ad-
 portatur et Indicum ex India inexploatae adhuc
 inventionis mihi fit etiam apud infectores ex flore
 nigro qui adhaescit aereis cortinis fit et ligno e
 taedis combusto tritisque in mortario carbonibus
 mira in hoc saepiarum natura, sed ex iis non fit
 omne autem atiamentum sole perficitur, librarium
 cumme,² tectorium glutino admixto quod aceto
 liquefactum est, aegre eluitur
- 44 XXVI E reliquis coloribus, quos a dominis dari
 diximus propter magnitudinem pretiu, ante omnes
 est purpurissum creta argentaria cum purpuris
 pariter tinguitur bbitque eum colorem celerius
 lanis praecipuum est primum, fervente aheno

¹ faex ea *Mayhoff* facta *B* faex *rell* (*fex cd Leid Voss*)

² cumme *Silling* gummi *Gelen* comme *cdd* (*me B¹ et B²*)

^a Probably the real indigo (§ 46) is meant here

^b Some unknown carbon pigment, not the indigo of § 46

^c Or ‘this latter variety is wonderfully like the pigment
 of the cuttle fish, but is never made from these creatures
 (K. C. Bailey)

^d Polishing powder of pure ground white earth

factories have actually been built with no exit for the smoke produced by this process. The most esteemed black paint is obtained in the same way from the wood of the pitch-pine. It is adulterated by mixing it with the soot of furnaces and baths, which is used as a material for writing. Some people calcine dried wine-lees, and declare that if the lees from a good wine are used this ink has the appearance of Indian ink.^a The very celebrated painters Polygnotus and Micon at Athens made black paint from the skins of grapes, and called it grape-lees ink. Apelles invented the method of making black from burnt ivory, the Greek name for this is elephantinon. There is also an Indian black,^b imported from India, the composition of which I have not yet discovered. A black is also produced with dyes from the black fluorescence which adheres to bronze pans. One is also made by burning logs of pitch-pine and pounding the charcoal in a mortar. The cuttle-fish has a remarkable property in forming a black secretion, but no colour is made from this.^c The preparation of all black is completed by exposure to the sun, black for writing ink receiving an admixture of gum and black for painting walls an admixture of glue. Black pigment that has been dissolved in vinegar is difficult to wash out.

XXVI Among the remaining colours which because of their high cost, as we said, are supplied by patrons, dark purple holds the first place. It is produced by dipping silversmiths' earth^d along with purple cloth and in like manner, the earth absorbing the colour more quickly than the wool. The best is that which being the first formed in the boiling cauldron becomes saturated with the dyes in their

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

rudibus medicamentis inebriatum, proximum egesto
 eo addita creta in ius iuem et, quotiens id factum
 est, elevatur bonitas pro numero dilutioe sane
 45 quare Puteolanum potius laudetur quam Tyrium aut
 Gaetulicum vel Laconicum, unde pretiosissimae
 purpurae, causa est quod hysgino¹ maxime inficitur
 rubiaque, quae² cogitur soibere vilissimum a
 Canusio pretium a singulis denariis in libras
 ad xxx pingentes sandyce sublita, mox ex³ ovo
 inducentes purpurissum, fulgorem minui faciunt si
 purpurae⁴ facere malunt, caeruleum sublinunt,
 mox purpuissum ex ovo inducunt
 46 XXVII Ab hoc maxima auctoritas Indico ex
 India venit hauidinum spumae adhaescente limo
 cum ceinatur, nigrum, at in diluendo mixturam
 purpurae caeruleique minabilem reddit alterum
 genus eius est in purpularis officinis innataans con-
 tinis, et est purpurae spuma qui adulterant, veio
 Indico tingunt steiroa columbina aut cretam
 Selinusiam vel anulariam vitro inficiunt probatur
 carbone, reddit enim quod sinceum est flammarum
 excellentis purpurae et, dum fumat, odorem maris
 ob id quidam e scopolis id colligi putant pretium

¹ hysgino *Hermolaus Barbarus* hygino B yyg aut yog
 cdd id genus cd Par 6801 iscino Isd

² rubiaque quae Ian rubia quae aut rubiaque

³ ex add Mayhoff

⁴ purpurae Mayhoff purpura aut purpuram

^a A purplish red colour got from the unidentified plant
 ' hysge'

^b From several species of *Indigofera*

primary state, and the next best produced when white earth is added to the same liquor after the first has been removed, and every time this is done the quality deteriorates, the liquid becoming more diluted at each stage. The reason why the dark purple of Pozzuoli is more highly praised than that of Tyre or Gaetulia or Laconia, places which produce the most costly purples, is that it combines most easily with hysginum^a and maddei which cannot help absorbing it. The cheapest comes from Canosa. The price is from one to thirty denari per lb. Painters using it put a coat of sandyx underneath and then add a coat of dark purple mixed with egg, and so produce the brilliance of cinnabar, if they wish instead to produce the glow of purple, they lay a coat of blue underneath, and then cover this with dark purple mixed with egg.

XXVII Of next greatest importance after this is *Indigo* indigo,^b a product of India, being a slime that adheres to the scum upon reeds. When it is sifted out it is black, but in dilution it yields a marvellous mixture of purple and blue. There is another kind of it that floats on the surface of the pans^c in the purple dye-shops, and this is the 'scum of purple'. People who adulterate it stain pigeons' droppings with genuine indigo, or else colour earth of Selinus or ring-earth^d with woad. It can be tested by means of a live coal, as if genuine it gives off a brilliant purple flame and a smell of the sea while it smokes, on this account some people think that it is collected from rocks on the coast. The price of indigo is 20 denari per

^c Perhaps the vessels containing Tyrian purple

^d See § 48. Some white earth, but it is not known whether it came from Selinus in Cilicia or Selinus in Sicily

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

Indico X xx¹ in libras in medicina Indicum nigores et impetus sedat siccaturque ulcea

47 XXVIII Armenia mittit quod eius nomine appellatur lapis est, hic quoque chrysocollae modo infectus, optimumque est quod maxime vicinum et communicato colore cum caeruleo solebant libiae eius trecentis² nummis tava*ri* inventa per Hispanias haec est similem curam recipiens, itaque ad denarios senos virtus reddit distat a caeruleo candore modico, qui tenerioriem hunc efficit coloriem usus in medicina ad pilos tantum alendos habet maximeque in palpebus

48 XXIX Sunt etiamnum novicii duo colores evilissimis viride est³ quod Appianum⁴ vocatur et chrysocollam mentitur, ceu parum multa facta⁵ sint mendacia eius, fit e creta viridi, aestimatum sessertus in libras XXX Anulare quod vocant, candidum est, quo muliebres picturae inluminantur, fit et ipsum e creta admixtis virtutis gemmis efolgi analis, inde et anulare dictum

49 XXXI Ex omnibus coloribus cretulam amantudoque inlini recusant purpuissimum, Indicum, caeruleum, Melinum, auripigmentum, Appianum, cerussa cerae tinguntur isdem his coloribus ad eas

¹ X xx B xxx aut xx rell

² trecentis B tricenisi rell

³ viride est Mayhoff virides

⁴ fortasse apianum vel apiacum (item § 49)

⁵ facta coni Mayhoff dicta

^a Azurite

^b Probably azurite found mixed with green malachite

^c A conjectural emendation *apianum* or *apiacum* gives 'parsley green'. It was a clay stained by ferrous substances

pound Used medicinally it allays cramps and fits
and dries up sores ,

XXVIII Armenia sends us the substance ^a *Azurite, etc.*
named after it Armenian This also is a mineral
that is dyed like malachite, and the best is that ^b
which most closely approximates to that substance,
the colour partaking also of dark blue Its price
used to be rated at 300 sesterces per pound A
sand has been found all over the Spanish provinces
that admits of similar preparation, and accordingly
the price has dropped to as low as six denarii It
differs from dark blue by a light white glow which
renders this blue colour thinner in comparison It
is only used in medicine to give nourishment to the
hair, and especially the eyelashes

XXIX There are also two colours of a very
cheap class that have been recently discovered
one is the green called Appian,^c which counterfeits
malachite, just as if there were too few spurious
varieties of it already! It is made from a green
earth and is valued at a sesterce per pound XXX
The other colour is that called 'ring-white,' which
is used to give brilliance of complexion in paintings
of women ^d This itself also is made from white
earth mixed with glass stones from the rings of the
lower classes, which accounts for the name 'ring-
white'

XXXI Of all the colours those which love a dry
surface of white clay, and refuse to be applied to a
damp plaster, are purple, indigo, blue, Mehan,
orpiment, Appian^c and ceruse Wax is stained
with these same colours for encaustic paintings, a

^a Or 'which shines on the painted faces of women' (K C Bailey) Cf § 46 and note ^d on p 295

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

picturas, quae inueniuntur, alieno paucetibus geneie, sed classibus familiari, iam vero et onerariis navibus, quoniam et vehicula¹ expingimus, ne quis mutui et iugos pingi, iuvatque pugnaturos ad mortem aut certe caedem speciose vehi. Quia contemplatione tot colorum tanta varietate subit antiquitatem mirari.

- 50 XXXII Quattuor coloribus solis immortalia illa opera fecere—ex albis Melino, ex silacis Attico, ex iubris Sinopide Pontica, ex nigris atramento—Apelles, Aetion,² Melanthius, Nicomachus, clavisimpi pictores, cum tabulae eorum singulae oppidorum venirent opibus nunc et purpulis in paletas migrantibus et India conserente fluminum suorum lumen, draconum elephantorumque saniem nulli nobilis pictura est omnia ergo meliora tunc fuere, cum minor copia ita est, quoniam, ut supra diximus, reium, non animi pretius excubatur.
- 51 XXXIII Et nostrae aetatis insaniam in pictura non omittam. Nero princeps iusserat colosseum se pingi cxx pedum linteo, incognitum ad hoc tempus ea pictura, cum peracta esset in Maianis hortis, accensa fulmine cum optima hortorum parte conflagravit libertus eius, cum daret Antoni munus gladiatorium, publicas porticus occupavit pictura, ut constat,
- 52

¹ vehicula coni Mayhoff feracula Deilefsen pericula

² Aetion Ian etion cdd (echion cd Par 6801)

^a Cicero, *Brutus*, 70 says it was Zeuxis, Polygnotus, Timanthes and others who used four colours only, while in Aetion, Nicomachus, Protogenes and Apelles everything had been brought to perfection. But the Alexander mosaic reproduces a four colour original.

^b Indigo (see § 46) and dragon's blood, which latter is really a plant product got chiefly from a species of *Dracaena* or *Pterocarpus* in Socotra.

sort of process which cannot be applied to walls but is common for ships of the navy, and indeed nowadays also for cargo vessels, since we even decorate vehicles with paintings, so that no one need be surprised that even logs for funeral pyres are painted, and we like gladiators going into the fray to ride in splendour to the scene of their death or at all events of carnage. Thus to contemplate all these numbers and great variety of colours prompts us to marvel at former generations.

XXXII Four colours^a only were used by the illustrious painters Apelles, Aetion, Melanthius and Nicomachus to execute their immortal works—of whites, Melinum, of yellow ochres, Attic, of reds, Pontic Sinopis, of blacks, atramentum—although their pictures each sold for the wealth of a whole town. Nowadays when purple finds its way even on to party-walls and when India contributes^b the mud of her rivers and the gore of her snakes and elephants, there is no such thing as high-class painting. Everything in fact was superior in the days when resources were scantier. The reason for this is that, as we said before, it is values of material and not of genius that people are now on the look-out for.

XXXIII One folly of our generation also in the matter of painting I will not leave out. The Emperor Nero had ordered his portrait to be painted on a colossal scale, on linen 120 ft high, a thing unknown hitherto, this picture when finished, in the Gardens of Maius, was struck by lightning and destroyed by fire, together with the best part of the Gardens. When a freedman of Nero was giving at Anzio a gladiatorial show, the public porticoes were

*Colossal
painting
Nero A.D.
54-68*

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

gladiatoriū ministriorumque omnium veris imaginibus
redditis hic multis iam saeculis summus animus¹
in pictura, pingi autem gladiatoria munera atque in
publico exponi coepit a C Teientio Lucano is avo
suo, a quo adoptatus fuerat, triginta paria in foio
per triudum dedit tabulamque pictam in nemoie
Dianae posuit

- 53 XXXIV Nunc celebres in ea arte quam maxima
brevitate percuriam, neque enim instituti operis est
talis² executio, itaque quosdam vel³ in transcursu
et in aliorum mentione obiter nominasse satis erit,
exceptis operum claritatibus quae et ipsa conveniet
attungi, sive exstant sive intercidere
- 54 Non constat sibi in hac parte Graecorum diligentia
multas post olympiadas celebrando pictores quam
statuarios ac toreutas, primumque olympiade LXXXX,
cum et Phidian ipsum initio pictorem fuisse tradatui
clipeumque Athenis ab eo pictum, praeterea in
confesso sit LXXX tertia fuisse fratrem eius Panaenum,
qui clipeum intus pinxit Elide Minervae, quam
fecerat Colotes, discipulus Phidiae et ei in faciendo
55 Iove Olympio adiutor quid[?] quod in confesso
perinde est Bularchi pictoris tabulam, in qua erat
Magnetum pioelium, a Candaule, rege Lydiae

¹ ambitus coni Mayhoff

² talis B, cd Par Lat 6797 iatis rell (ampla cd Par
6801) artis coni Mayhoff

³ Vl velut

^a Probably not that of Athene Parthenos, which was, on its inner side, carved in relief

covered with paintings, so we are told, containing life-like portraits of all the gladiators and assistants. This portraiture of gladiators has been the highest interest in art for many generations now, but it was Gaius Terentius Lucanus who began the practice of having pictures made of gladiatorial shows and exhibited in public, in honour of his grandfather who had adopted him he provided thirty pairs of gladiators in the forum for three consecutive days, and exhibited a picture of their matches in the Grove of Diana.

XXXIV I will now run through as briefly as possible the artists eminent in painting, and it is not *famous painters* consistent with the plan of this work to go into such detail, and accordingly it will be enough just to give the names of some of them even in passing and in course of mentioning others, with the exception of the famous works of art which whether still extant or how lost it will be proper to particularize.

In this department the exactitude of the Greeks is *Chronology* inconsistent, in placing the painters many Olympiads after the sculptors in bronze and chasers in metal, and putting the first in the 90th Olympiad, although 420-417 it is said that even Phidias himself was a painter to begin with, and that there was a shield ^a at Athens that had been painted by him, and although more-
Panaenus and other over it is universally admitted that his brother Panaenus came in the 83rd Olympiad, who painted 448-445 the inner surface of a shield of Athene at Elis made by Colotes, Phidias's pupil and assistant in making the statue of Olympian Zeus. And then, is it not equally admitted that Candaules, the last King of Lydia of the Herachid line, who was also commonly known by the name of Myrsilus, gave its weight in

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Hei ac lidarum novissimo, qui et Myrsilus vocatus est, 1epensam auro³ tanta iam dignatio picturæ erat circa Romuli id aetatem accidente necesse est, etenim duodevicensima olympiade interiit Candaules aut, ut quidam tradunt, eodem anno quo Romulus, nisi falloī, manifesta iam tunc claritate 56 artis, adeo absolutione¹ quod si recipi necesse est, simul apparet multo vetustiora principia eosque, qui monochromatis pinxerint, quorum aetas non traditur, aliquanto ante fuisse, Hygianonem, Diniān, Charmadan et, qui primus in pictura marem a femina discreverit, Eumaium Atheniensem, figuræ omnes imitari ausum, quiq[ue] inventa eius exco- luerit, Cimonem Cleonaeum hic catagripha invenit, hoc est obliquas imagines, et varie formæ voltus, respicientes suspicentesve vel despiciētes, articulis membra distinxit, venas protulit, praeterque 57 in vestibus rugas² et sinus invenit Panaenus quidem frater Phidiae etiam proelium Atheniensem adversus Persas apud Marathonā factum pinxit

¹ VII absolutioni (*B*) aut absoliuore non absolutio
Brotier

² vestibus rugas Traube veste et rugas Gelen veste
brugas *B*¹ veste rugas *B*², c¹ Tolet verrugas *rell*

^a An unknown event, it might be the defeat of the Greeks mentioned in VII, 126, or more likely the great defeat of the Magnetes by the Treres in 651 B.C. (Strabo XIV, 647)

^b Candaules was in fact put to death by Gyges about 685 B.C.

^c See §§ 29, 15

^d By painting women's skin paler or white. This is the stage represented by vase painting from the seventh century when women were commonly coloured white menied or black.

gold for a picture of the painter Bulaichus representing a battle^a with the Magnetes.^b So high was the value already set on the art of painting. This must have occurred at about the time of Romulus, since Candaules^b died in the 18th Olympiad, or, 708-705^c according to some accounts, in the same year as Romulus, making it clear, if I am not mistaken, *trad* 717^d that the art had already achieved celebrity, and in fact a perfection. And if we are bound to accept this conclusion, it becomes clear at the same time that the first stages were at a much earlier date and that the painters in monochiome,^c whose date is not handed down to us, came considerably earlier—Hyglaenon, Dinius, Charmadas and Eumarus of Athens, the last being the earliest artist to distinguish^d the male from the female sex in painting, and venturing to reproduce every sort of figure, and Cimon of Cleonae who improved on the inventions of Eumarus. It was Cimon who first invented ‘catagrapha,’ that is, images in ‘three-quarter,’^e and who varied the aspect of the features, representing them as looking backward or upward or downward, he showed the attachments of the limbs, displayed the veins, and moreover introduced wrinkles and folds in the drapery. Indeed the brother of Phidias Panaenus even painted^f the Battle at Marathon 490 B.C. between the Athenians and Persians, so widely

^a The Greek word meant probably ‘foreshortened images,’ but Pliny or his Latin source rightly took it as expressing ‘slanting (*obliquus*) images not profile or full face.’ Of § 90 The context may exclude from the word *obliquus* any portraits where the eyes look back, up, or down.

^f On a wooden panel attached to a wall of the *στοά ποικίλη*, ‘Painted Portico,’ at Athens. The painting was attributed also to Polygnotus and to Micon, cf. § 59.

adeo iam colorum usus increbruerat adeoque ars perfecta erat, ut in eo proelio iconicos duces pinxit
tradatur, Atheniensium Miltiadem, Callimachum,
Cynaegum, barbarorum Datim, Aitaphernen

58 XXXV Quin immo certamen etiam picturæ florente eo institutum est Corinthi ac Delphis, primusque omnium certavit cum Timagoia Chalcidense, superatus ab eo Pythus, quod et ipsius Timagorae carmine vetusto apparet, chronicorum errore non dubio

Alii quoque post hos classis fuere ante LXXX Olympiadem, sicut Polygnotus Thasius, qui prius mulieres tralucida¹ veste pinxit, capita eorum mitris versicoloris operuit plurimumque picturæ prius contulit, siquidem instituit os adaperire, dentes ostendere, voltum ab antiquo rigore variare
59 huius est tabula in portico Pompei, quae ante cuiam eius fuerat, in qua dubitatur ascendentem cum clupeo pinxit an descendenter hic Delphis aedem pinxit, hic et Athenis porticum, quae Poecile vocatur, gratuito, cum partem eius Micon mercede pinget vel maior huic auctoritas, siquidem Amphictyones, quod est publicum Graeciae concilium,

¹ tralucida B lucida bell

^a Not real portraits if the στοά was built at least thirty years after 490 B.C.

^b The Λέσχη a covered colonnade

^c Polygnotus' contribution was a 'Sack of Troy,' Micon's a 'Battle of the Amazons' (against Theseus) See also § 57

established had the employment of colour now become and such perfection of art had been attained that he is said to have introduced actual ^a portraits of the generals who commanded in that battle, Miltiades, Cimon and Cynaegnus on the Athenian side and Datis and Artaphernes on that of the barbarians XXXV Nay more, during the time that Panaenus flourished competitions in painting were actually instituted at Corinth and at Delphi, and on the first occasion of all Panaenus competed against Timagoias of Chalcis, being defeated by him, at the Pythian Games, a fact clearly shown by an ancient poem of Timagoras himself, the chronicles undoubtedly being in error

After those and before the 90th Olympiad there 420-417 B.C. were other celebrated painters also, such as Polygnotus of Thasos who first represented women *Polygnotus and Micon* in transparent diapenes and showed their heads covered with a parti-coloured headdress, and he first contributed many improvements to the art of painting, as he introduced showing the mouth wide open and displaying the teeth and giving expression to the countenance in place of the primitive rigidity There is a picture by this artist in the Portico of Pompeius which formerly hung in front of the Curia which he built, in which it is doubtful whether the figure of a man with a shield is painted as going up or as coming down Polygnotus painted the temple ^b at Delphi and the colonnade at Athens called the Painted Portico, doing his work gratuitously, although a part of the work was painted by Micon who received a fee ^c Indeed Polygnotus was held in higher esteem, as the Amphictyones, who are a General Council of Greece, voted him entertainment

hospitia ei gratuita deinceps fuit et alius Micon,
qui minoris cognomine¹ distinguitus, cuius filii
Timarete et ipsa pinxit

- 60 XXXVI LXXX autem olympiade fuit Aglaophon,
Cephisodorus, Erillus,¹ Euenor, pater Parhasus et
praeceptor maximi pictoris, de quo suis annis di-
cemus, omnes iam illustres, non tamen in quibus
haerere expositio debeat festinans ad lumina artis,
in quibus primus refulsit Apollodorus Atheniensis
LXXXXIII olympiade hic primus species exprimebat
instituit primusque gloriam penicillo iure contulit
eius est sacerdos adorans et Aias fulmine incensus,
quae Pergamum spectatur hodie neque ante eum
tabula ullius ostenditur, quae teneat oculos
- 61 Ab hoc artis foies apertas Zeuxis Heracleotes
intravit olympiadis LXXXV anno quarto, audentemque
iam aliquid penicillum—de hoc enim adhuc loquamur
—ad magnam gloriam perduxit, a quibusdam falso
in LXXXVIII olympiade positus, cum fuisse² necesse
est Demophilum Himeraeum et Nesea Thasium,
quoniam utius eorum discipulus fuerit ambigitur
62 in eum Apollodorus supra scriptus versum fecit,
artem ipsis ablatam Zeuxim ferie secum opes
quoque tantas adquisivit, ut in ostentatione³ eorum

¹ Erillus *B* frilius *rell* (*frillus cd Par I at 6797*) Phryllus
Brotier Phryllus *edd iett* Hrillus *coni Siliq*

² cum quo f *Urlichs* confusse *Traube*

³ ostentationem *Gronor*

* Inventor of shading, and therefore called σκιαγράφος

at the public expense. There was also another Micon, distinguished from the first by the surname of 'the Younger,' whose daughter Timaiete also painted.

XXXVI In the 90th Olympiad lived Aglaophon, Cephisodorus, Erillus, and Evenor the father and teacher of Parrhasius, a very great painter (about Parrhasius we shall have to speak when we come to his period). All these are now artists of note, yet not figures over which our discourse should linger in its haste to arrive at the luminaries of the art, first among whom shone out Apollodorus^a of Athens, in the 93d Olympiad. Apollodorus was the first artist to give realistic presentation of objects, and the first to confer glory as of right upon the paint brush. His are the Priest at Prayer and Ajax struck by Lightning, the latter to be seen at Peigamum at the present day. There is no painting now on view by any artist before Apollodorus that arrests the attention of the eyes.

The gates of art having been now thrown open by Apollodorus they were entered by Zeuxis of Heraclea in the 4th year of the 95th Olympiad, who led forward the already not unadventurous paintbrush—for this is what we are still speaking of—to great glory. Some writers erroneously place Zeuxis in the 89th Olympiad, when Demophilus of Himeia and Neseus of Thasos must have been his contemporaries, as of one of them, it is uncertain which, he was a pupil of Zeuxis. Apollodorus above recorded wrote an epigram in a line of poetry to the effect that 'Zeuxis robbed his masters of their art and carried it off with him.' Also he acquired such great wealth that he advertised it at Olympia by displaying his own

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Olympiae aureis litteris in palliorum tesseris intextum nomen suum ostentaret postea donare opera sua instituit, quod nullo pietio satis digno permutari¹ posse dicebat, sicuti Alcmenam Agragantinis, Pana Archelao fecit et Penelopen, in qua pinxit mores videtur, et athletam, adeoque in illo sibi placuit, ut verum subscriberet celebrem ex eo, invisurum aliquem facilius quam imitaturum magnificus est et Iuppiter eius in throno adstantibus dñs et Heicules infans dracones II² strangulans Alcmena matre coram pavente et Amphitryone reprehenditui tamen ceu grandior in capitibus articulisque, alioqui tantus diligentia, ut Agragantinis factus tabulam, quam in templo Iunonis Laciniae publice dicarent, insperaverunt virgines eorum nudas et quinque elegerit, ut quod in quaque laudatissimum esset pictura iedderet pinxit et monochromata ex albo aequales eius et aemuli fuere Timanthes, Androcydes Eupompus, Parrhasius 65 descendisse hic in certamen cum Zeuxide traditur et, cum ille detulisset uvas pictas tanto successu, ut in scaenam aves advolarent, ipse detulisse linteum pictum ita veritate repreaesentata, ut Zeuxis alitum iudicio tumens flagitaret tandem remoto linteo

¹ permutari *B*? permutare *rell*

² dracones II *Mayhoff* draconem *B* dracones *c l Par* 6801 dracones in *rell*

^a King of Macedon 413–399 BC

^b Μωμήσεται τις μᾶλλον ἢ μιμησεται

^c Fingers and toes?

^d Apparently a ‘Helen (cf § 66),’ painted in fact for the city of Croton (Cic *De Invent* II, 1, 1, Dionys Hal *De I et Script Cens* I)

^e Apparently paintings in pale colours on a dark ground

^f The pictures were hung on the front of the stage buildings in the theatric

name embroidered in gold lettering on the checked pattern of his robes Afterwards he set about giving away his works as presents, saying that it was impossible for them to be sold at any price adequate to their value for instance he presented his Alcmena to the city of Gugenti and his Pan to Aichelaus.^a He also did a Penelope in which the picture seems to portray morality, and an Athlete, in the latter case being so pleased with his own work that he wrote below it a line of verse^b which has hence become famous, to the effect that it would be easier for someone to carp at him than to copy him His Zeus seated on a throne with the gods standing by in attendance is also a magnificent work, and so is the Infant Heracles throttling two Snakes in the presence of his mother Alcmena, looking on in alarm, and of Amphitryon Nevertheless Zeuxis is criticized for making the heads and joints^c of his figures too large in proportion, albeit he was so scrupulously careful that when he was going to produce a picture^d for the city of Girgenti to dedicate at the public cost in the temple of Lacinian Hera he held an inspection of maidens of the place paraded naked and chose five, for the purpose of reproducing in the picture the most admirable points in the form of each He also painted monochromes in white^e His contemporaries and rivals were Timanthes, Androcydes, Eupompus and Parrhasius This last, it is recorded, entered into a competition with Zeuxis, who produced a picture of grapes so successfully represented that birds flew up to the stage-buildings^f, whereupon Parrhasius himself produced such a realistic picture of a curtain that Zeuxis, proud of the verdict of the birds, requested that the curtain should now

*Zeuxis and
Parrhasius*

- ostendi picturam atque intellecto eriore concederet palmam ingenuo pudoie, quoniam ipse volucies
 66 fefelisset, Parrhasius autem se artificem fuit et postea Zeuxis pinxit puerum uvas ferentem, ad quas cum advolassent aves,¹ eadem ingenuitate processit iratus operi et dixit ‘ uvas melius pinxi quam puerum, nam si et hoc consummassem, aves timeire debuerant’ fecit et figlina opera, quae sola in Ambracia relictā sunt, cum inde Musas Fulvius Nobilior Romam transferret Zeuxidis manu Romae Helena est in Philippi porticibus, et in Concordiae delubro Marsyas eligatus
- 67 Parrhasius Ephesi natus et ipse multa contulit primus symmetrian picturae dedit, primus aigutias voltus, elegantiam capilli, venustatem² oīis, confessione artificum in hinc extēmis palmam adeptus haec est picturae summa subtilitas³ corpora enim pingere et media reium est quidem magni operis, sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint, extrema corporum facere et desinentis picturae modum includere
 68 rarum in successu artis invenitur ambue enim se ipsa debet extremitas et sic desinere, ut promittat alia et⁴ post se⁵ ostendatque etiam quae occultat hanc ei gloriam concessere Antigonus et Xenocrates,

¹ *V l* advolarent aves *aut* advolasset avis *aut* advolaret avis

² *V l* vetustatem

³ suptilitas *B* sublimitas *rell*

⁴ alia et *Mayhoff* aliae *cd Leid Voss m l* alia *rell*

⁵ posse *edd vett* pone se *coni Ian* alias post se *Traube*

“ The picture ‘ Helen ’ mentioned (not named) in § 64 The porticoes were built by L Marcius Philippus in 29 B C

be drawn and the picture displayed, and when he realized his mistake, with a modesty that did him honour he yielded up the prize, saying that whereas he had deceived birds Parrhasius had deceived him, in artist It is said that Zeuxis also subsequently painted a Child Carrying Grapes, and when birds flew to the fruit with the same frankness as before he strode up to the picture in anger with it and said, 'I have painted the grapes better than the child, as if I had made a success of that as well, the birds would inevitably have been afraid of it' He also executed works in clay, the only works of art that were left at Ambracia when Fulvius Nobilior removed 180 B.C. the statues of the Muses from that place to Rome There is at Rome a Helena ^a by Zeuxis in the Porticoes of Philippus, and a Maisyas Bound, in the Shrine of Concord

Parrhasius also, a native of Ephesus, contributed *Parrhasius* much to painting He was the first to give proportions to painting and the first to give vivacity to the expression of the countenance, elegance of the hair and beauty of the mouth, indeed it is admitted by artists that he won the palm in the drawing of outlines This in painting is the high-water mark of refinement, to paint bulk and the surface within the outlines, though no doubt a great achievement, is one in which many have won distinction, but to give the contour of the figures, and make a satisfactory boundary where the painting within finishes, is rarely attained in successful artistry For the contour ought to round itself off and so terminate as to suggest the presence of other parts behind it also, and disclose even what it hides This is the distinction conceded to Parrhasius by

qui de pictu*a* scripse*e*, p*rae*dicantes quoque, non solum confitentes, et ali*s* multa graphid*i*s vestigia exstant in tabulis ac membranis eius, ex quibus proficere dicuntur artifices minor tamen videtur sibi
 69 comparatus in mediis corporibus exprimendis p*in*v*it* demon Atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso ostendebat numqu*a* varium n*on*acundum iniustum inconstantem,¹ eundem evorabilem clementem misericordem, gloriosum² excelsum humilem, ferocem fugacemque et omnia pariter idem p*in*v*it* et These*a*, quae Rom*e* in Capitolo fuit, et nauarium thoiacatum, et in una tabuli, quae est Rhodi, Meleagrum, Herculem, Persea, haec ibi t*er* fulmine ambusta neque oblitterata hoc ipso miraculum auget
 70 p*in*v*it* et archigallum, quam pictu*m* amavit Tiberius princeps atque, ut auctor est Deculo,³ h*s* LX⁴ aestimat*um* cubiculo suo inclusit p*in*v*it* et Thressam⁵ nutricem infantemque in manibus eius et Philiscum et Libeum patrem adstante Virtute, et pueros duos, in quibus spectaturi securitas aetatis et simplicitas, item sacerdotem adstante
 71 puer cum ace*ia* et corona sunt et duae picturae eius nobilissimae, hoplites in certamine ita decurrens, ut sudare videatur, alter arma deponens, ut

¹ incontinentem *O Jahn*² lac *Mayhoff*³ deculo *B* depulo, de populo aut sim rell Decius Gelen Decius Epulo edd vett Decius Eculeo Hermolaus Barbarus⁴ LX *Ian* IX *B* LX rell⁵ thressam *B* cressam aut chressam rell^a Or ‘traces of his draughtsmanship’^b Or ‘them in various moods’^c Until it perished in the fire of 70 B C

Antigonus and Xenocrates who have written on the art of painting, and they do not merely admit it but actually advertise it. And there are many other pen-sketches^a still extant among his panels and parchments, from which it is said that artists derive profit. Nevertheless he seems to fall below his own level in giving expression to the surface of the body inside the outline. His picture of the People of Athens also shows ingenuity in treating the subject, since he displayed them as fickle,^b choleric, unjust and variable, but also placable and merciful and compassionate, boastful (and *etc.*), lofty and humble, fierce and timid—and all these at the same time. He also painted a Theseus which was once^c in the Capitol at Rome, and a Naval Commander in a Cuirass, and in a single picture now at Rhodes figures of Meleager, Heracles and Perseus. This last picture has been three times struck by lightning at Rhodes without being effaced, a circumstance which in itself enhances the wonder felt for it. He also painted a High Priest of Cybele, a picture for which the Emperor Tiberius conceived an affection and kept it shut up in his bedchamber, the price at which it was valued according to Deculo being 6,000,000 sesterces. He also painted a Thracian Nurse with an Infant in her Arms, a Philiscus, and a Father Liber or Dionysus attended by Virtue, and Two Children in which the carefree simplicity of childhood is clearly displayed, and also a Priest attended by Boy with Incense-box and Chaplet. There are also two very famous pictures by him, a Runner in the Race in Full Armour who actually seems to sweat with his efforts, and the other a Runner in Full Armour Taking off his Arms, so lifelike that he can

anhelare sentiatui laudantur et Aeneas Castorque ac Pollux in eadem tabula, item Telephus, Achilles, Agamemnon, Ulysses fecundus artifex, sed quo nemo insolentius usus sit gloria artis, namque et cognomina usurpavit habiodiaetum se appellando alisque vestibus principem artis et eam ab se consummatam, super omnia Apollinis se radice ortum et Herculem, qui est Lindi, talem a se pictum, qualem

72 saepe in quiete vidisset, et cum¹ magnis suffragiis superatus a Timanthe esset² Sami in Aiacce armorumque iudicio, herois nomine se moleste feire dicebat, quod iterum ab indigno victus esset— Pinxit et minoribus tabellis libidines, eo genere petulantis ioci se reficiens³

73 Nam Timanthis vel plurimum adfuit ingenii eius enim est Iphigenia oratorum laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peccatoria cum maestos pinxit; esset omnes praecipueque patrum et tutitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius voltum velavit,

74 quem digne non poterat ostendere sunt et alia ingenii eius exempla, veluti Cyclops dormiens in pavola tabella, cuius et sic magnitudinem exprimere cupiens pinxit iuxta Satyros thyrso pollicem eius

¹ et cū (= cum) *Mayhoff* ergo

² Timanthe esset *Mayhoff* timanthes est *B¹* timanthe (*aut thimante*) est *cdd*

³ pinxit reficiens post Ulysses 71 transp *Ullrichs*

^a Showing the healing of Telephus by rust from Achilles' sword, with Agamemnon and Odysseus looking on

^b When the arms of dead Achilles were awarded to Odysseus, Ajax became mad and at night unknowingly killed sheep in the belief that he was killing his enemies

^c *Eg Cicero De Oratore* 74

^d A picture found at Pompeii may be a copy of this

be perceived to be panting for breath His Aeneas, Castor and Pollux (Polydeuces), all in the same picture, are also highly praised, and likewise his group^a of Telephus with Achilles, Agamemnon and Odysseus Pausias was a prolific artist, but one who enjoyed the glory of his art with unparalleled arrogance, for he actually adopted certain surnames, calling himself the ' Bon Viveur,' and in some other verses ' Prince of Painters,' who had brought the art to perfection, and above all saying he was sprung from the lineage of Apollo and that his picture of Heracles at Lindos presented the hero as he had often appeared to him in his dreams Consequently when defeated by Timanthes at Samos by a large majority of votes, the subject of the pictures being Ajax and the Award of the Arms, he used to declare in the name of his hero that he was indignant at having been defeated a second time by an unworthy opponent^b He also painted some smaller pictures of an immodest nature, taking his recreation in this sort of wanton amusement

To return to Timanthes—he had a very high degree of genius Orators^c have sung the praises of his Iphigenia,^d who stands at the altar awaiting her doom, the artist has shown all present full of sorrow, and especially her uncle,^e and has exhausted all the indications of grief, yet has veiled the countenance of her father himself^f whom he was unable adequately to portray There are also other examples of his genius, for instance a quite small panel of a Sleeping Cyclops, whose gigantic stature he aimed at representing even on that scale by painting at his side some Satyrs measuring the size of his thumb

^a Menelaus

^f Agamemnon

metientes atque in unius huius operibus intelligitur
plus semper quam pingitur et, cum sit ars summa
ingenium tamen ultia artem est pinxit et heros
absolutissimi operis, artem ipsam complexus viros
pingendi, quod opus nunc Romae in templo Pacis est

75 Euxenidas hac aetate docuit Aristides, praec-
clarum artificem, Eupompus Pamphilum, Apelles,
praeceptor em est Eupompi victor certamine gym-
nico palmam tenens ipsius auctoritas tanta fuit,
ut divisorum picturam¹ genera, quae ante eum duo
fuerunt—Helladicum et Asiaticum² appellabant—
propter hunc, qui erat Sicyonius, diviso Helladico
tria facta sunt, Ionicum, Sicyonium, Atticum

76 Pamphili cognatio et pioelum ad Phluntem ac
victoria Atheniensium, item Ulixes in rate ipse
Macedo natione, sed ³ primus in pictura omnibus
litteris eruditus, praecipue arithmeticā et geometriā,
sine quibus negabat artem perfici posse, docuit
neminem talento minoris—annuis X D⁴—, quam
meicedem at Apelles et Melanthius dedere ei
77 huius auctoritate effectum est Sicyone primum,
deinde in tota Graecia, ut pueri ingenui omissam

¹ picturam *Mayhoff* picturam in *cdd* (ras in *cd* *Par*
6801 a in *cd* *Leid Voss*)

² asiaticum *B* asianum *B¹*, asiticum quod asiaticum
rell quod asiaticum *Gelen*

³ lac *Mayhoff*

⁴ X D *B*, *cd* *Leid Voss* D *rell* (*om cd Flor Ricc*)

^a The elder, cf §§ 108, 111 and note on pp 410–411

^b Possibly the capture of Phlius by the Spartans in 379 BC
and the sea victory of Athens over the Spartans at Naxos in

with a wand. Indeed Timanthes is the only artist in whose works more is always implied than is depicted, and whose execution, though consummate, is always surpassed by his genius. He painted a hero which is a work of supreme perfection, in which he has included the whole art of painting male figures, this work is now in the Temple of Peace in Rome.

It was at this period that Euxenidas had as his pupil the famous artist Aristides,^a that Eupompus taught Pamphilus who was the instructor of Apelles. A work of Eupompus is a Winner in a Gymnastic Contest holding a Palm branch. Eupompus's own influence was so powerful that he made a fresh division of painting, it had previously been divided into two schools, called the Helladic or Grecian and the Asiatic, but because of Eupompus, who was a Sicyonian, the Grecian school was sub-divided into three groups, the Ionic, Sicyonian and Attic. To Pamphilus belong Family Group, and a Battle at Phlius and a Victory of the Athenians,^b and also Odysseus on his Raft. He was himself a Macedonian by birth, but <was brought up at Sicyon, and> was the first painter highly educated in all branches of learning, especially arithmetic and geometry, without the aid of which he maintained art could not attain perfection. He took no pupils at a lower fee than a talent, at the rate of 500 drachmae per annum,^c and this was paid him by both Apelles and Melanthius. It was brought about by his influence, first at Sicyon and then in the whole of Greece as well, that children

376, or the defeat of Sicyonians by Phliasians and Athenians in 367 B.C. The painting may have represented the last event only.

^c So that the course of study could last 12 years.

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ante¹ graphicen [hoc est picturam²] in buxo, docerentur recupereturque aīs ea in primum gradum liberalium semper quidem honos ei fuit, ut ingenui eam exerceant, mox ut honesti, perpetuo interdicto ne servitia doceantur ideo neque in hac neque in toate ulla*ut* ullius, qui servierit, opera celebrantur

78 Clari et centesima septima olympiade existit Aetion ac Theūimachus Aetionis sunt nobiles picturae Liber pater, item Thagoedia et Comoedia, Semiramis ex ancilla regnum apiscens, anus lampadas praefeiens et nova nupta verecundia notabilis

79 Veium omnes prius genitos futurosque postea superavit Apelles Cous olympiade centesima duodecima picturae plura solus prope quam ceteri omnes contulit, voluminibus etiam editis, quae doctrinam eam continent piaecipua eius in arte venustas fuit, cum eadem aetate maximi pictores essent, quorum opera cum admiraretur, omnibus conlaudatis deesse illam suam veneiem³ dicebat, quam Graeci *χάριτα* vocant, cetera omnia contigisse,
80 sed hac sola sibi neminem parem et aliam gloriam usurpavit, cum Piotogenis opus immensi laboris ac

¹ omissā (= omissam) ante *coni* *Mayhoff* omnia ante *B* omnia anti *rell* ante omnia *edd vett* omnes artem *C F Hermann*

² *seclud* *Ullrichs*

³ venustatem *Frohner* (*cp* gratiam *Quintil XII 10 6*)

^a The whole of statuary as contrasted with painting

^b Sammuramat, princess of Assyria c 800 BC

^c Really of Ephesus, but some of his famous works were at Cos

of free birth were given lessons in drawing on box-wood, which had not been included hitherto, and that this art was accepted into the front rank of the liberal sciences. And it has always consistently had the honour of being practised by people of free birth, and later on by persons of station, it having always been forbidden that slaves should be instructed in it. Hence it is that neither in painting nor in the art of statuary^a are there any famous works that were executed by any person who was a slave.

In the 107th Olympiad Aetion and Therimachus also attained outstanding distinction. Famous paintings by Aetion are a Father Liber or Dionysus, Tragedy and Comedy and Semiramis^b the Slave Girl Rising to a Throne, and the Old Woman carrying Torches, with a Newly Married Bride, remarkable for her an of modesty.

But it was Apelles of Cos^c who surpassed all the painters that preceded and all who were to come after him, he dates in the 112th Olympiad. He singly contributed almost more to painting than all the other artists put together, also publishing volumes containing the principles of painting. His art was unrivalled for graceful charm, although other very great painters were his contemporaries. Although he admired their works and gave high praise to all of them, he used to say that they lacked the glamour that his work possessed, the quality denoted by the Greek word *charis*, and that although they had every other merit, in that alone no one was his rival. He also asserted another claim to distinction when he expressed his admiration for the immensely laborious and infinitely meticulous work

352-349 B.C.
Aetion and
Therimachus

332-329 B.C.

Apelles and
Protogenes

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

cuius supra modum anxiae minaretur, dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse aut illi meliora, sed uno se praestare, quod manum de tabula sciret¹ tollere, memoriae pracepto nocere saepe nimiam diligentiam fuit autem non minoris simplicitatis quam artis Melanthio dispositione cedebat, Asclepiodoro de² mensuris, hoc est quanto quid a quoque distare deberet

- 81 Scitum inter Protogenen et eum quod accidit ille Rhodi vivebat, quo cum Apelles adnavigasset, avidus cognoscendi opera eius fama tantum sibi cogniti, continuo officinam petuit aberat ipse, sed tabulam amplae magnitudinis in machina aptatam una³ custodiebat anus haec foris esse Protogenen respondit interrogavitque, a quo quaesitum diceret ‘ab hoc,’ inquit Apelles adieptoque penicillo lineam 82 ex colore duxit summae tenuitatis per tabulam et reverso Protogeni quae gesta erant anus indicavit ferunt artificem protinus contemplatum subtilitatem dixisse Apellen venisse, non cadere in alium tam absolutum opus, ipsumque alio colore tenuorem lineam in ipsa illa duxisse abeuntemque piaecepisse, si redisset ille, ostenderet adiceretque

¹ sciret *B* non sciret *rell*

² de fortasse delendum (*Mayhoff*, qui et dimensuris coni)

³ una *B* picturae una *rell*

^a The expression ‘manum de tabula,’ ‘hand from the picture,’ was a saying which expressed ‘That’s enough’

^b Pliny does not say whether it was straight or wavy, or an outline of some object

of Protogenes, for he said that in all respects his achievements and those of Piotogenes were on a level, or those of Protogenes were superior, but that in one respect he stood higher than he knew when to take his hand away from a picture ^a—a noteworthy warning of the frequently evil effects of excessive diligence. The candour of Apelles was however equal to his artistic skill—he used to acknowledge his inferiority to Melanthius in grouping, and to Asclepiodorus in nicety of measurement, that is in the proper space to be left between one object and another.

A clever incident took place between Pioto-
genes and Apelles. Protogenes lived at Rhodes,
and Apelles made the voyage there from a desire to
make himself acquainted with Pioto-
genes's works, as that artist was hitherto only known to him by
reputation. He went at once to his studio. The
artist was not there but there was a panel of consider-
able size on the easel prepared for painting, which
was in the charge of a single old woman. In answer
to his enquiry, she told him that Protogenes was not
at home, and asked who it was she should report as
having wished to see him. ‘Say it was this person,’
said Apelles, and taking up a brush he painted in
colour across the panel an extremely fine line ^b,
and when Protogenes returned the old woman
showed him what had taken place. The story goes
that the artist, after looking closely at the finish of
this, said that the new arrival was Apelles, as so
perfect a piece of work tallied with nobody else,
and he himself, using another colour, drew a still
finer line exactly on the top of the first one, and
leaving the room told the attendant to show it to the

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hunc esse quem quaerebat atque ita evenit
 revertit enim Apelles et Vinci eubescens tertio
 colore lineas secuit nullum relinquentes amplius
 83 subtilitati locum at Protagenes victum se con-
 fessus in portum devolavit hospitem quaeiens,
 placuisse sic eam tabulam posteris triadi omnium
 quidem, sed artificum praecepit miraculo con-
 sumptam eam priore incendio Caesaris domus in
 Palatio audio, spectatam nobis¹ ante, spatiose²
 nihil aliud continentem quam³ lineas visum effu-
 gientes, inter egregia multorum opera mani similem
 et eo ipso allicientem omniq[ue] opere nobilioriem
 84 Apelli fuit alioqui perpetua consuetudo numquam
 tam occupatum diem agendi, ut non lineam ducendo
 exercebat aitem, quod ab eo in proverbium venit
 idem perfecta opera proponebat in pergula trans-
 seuntibus atque, ipse post tabulam latens, vita
 quae notaentur auscultabat, vulgum diligentiores
 85 iudicem quam se praeferens, feruntque reprehensum
 a sutorie, quod in crepidis una pauciores intus fecisset
 ansas, eodem postero die superbo emendatione
 pristinae admonitionis cavillante circa crus, indig-

¹ nobis *cdd* Rhodi *Mayhoff* olim *Gronov*² I l spatiore (spatio sed *B*) spatio *Pintianus*³ V l quam in quam III *Gronov*^a Pliny surely indicates that Apelles drew a yet finer line on top of the other two down their length^b Probably an outline of some object^c *Nulla dies sine linea*, ‘No day without a line’

visitor if he returned and add that this was the person he was in search of, and so it happened, for Apelles came back, and, ashamed to be beaten, cut ^a the lines with another in a third colour, leaving no room for any further display of minute work. Hereupon Protogenes admitted he was defeated, and flew down to the harbour to look for the visitor, and he decided that the panel should be handed on to posterity as it was, to be admired as a marvel by everybody, but particularly by artists. I am informed that it was burnt in the first fire which occurred in Caesar's palace on the Palatine, it had ^{AD 4} been previously much admired by us, on its vast surface containing nothing else than the almost invisible lines, so that among the outstanding works of many artists it looked like a blank space, and by that very fact attracted attention and was more esteemed than every masterpiece there.

Moreover it was a regular custom with Apelles never to let a day of business to be so fully occupied that he did not practise his art by drawing a line,^b which has passed from him into a proverb ^c. Another habit of his was when he had finished his works to place them in a gallery in the view of passers by, and he himself stood out of sight behind the picture and listened to hear what faults were noticed, rating the public as a more observant critic than himself. And it is said that he was found fault with by a shoemaker because in drawing a subject's sandals he had represented the loops in them as one too few, and the next day the same critic was so proud of the artist's correcting the fault indicated by his previous objection that he found fault with the leg, but Apelles indignantly looked out from behind the

natum prospexit denuntiantem, ne supra crepidam
 sutor iudicaret, quod et ipsum in proverbium abut
 fuit enim et comitas illi, propter quam gratior
 Alexandro Magno frequenter in officinam venti-
 tantि—nam, ut diximus, ab alio se pingi veteat
 edicto—, sed in officina imperante multa disseverenti
 silentium comite suadebat, ruderī eum dicens 86
 pueris, qui colores tererent tantum erat ructou-
 tati iuris in regem aliqui nacundum quamquam
 Alexandeи honorem ei clavisimo perhibuit exemplo
 namque cum dilectam sibi e pallacis suis praecipue,
 nomine Pancaspen,¹ nudam pingi ob admirationem
 formae ab Apelle iussisset eumque, dum pareret,
 captum amore sensisset, dono dedit ei,² magnus
 animo, maior imperio sui nec minor hoc facto quam
 87 victoria alia, quia³ ipse se vicit, nec torum tantum
 suum, sed etiam adfectum donavit artifici, ne
 dilectae quidem respectu motus, cum modo regis ea
 fuisset, modo pictoris esset sunt qui Venerem
 anadyomenen ab illo pictam exemplari putent
 Apelles et in aemulis benignus Piogeni digna-

¹ pancaspen *B* campaspen aut em rell Pancasten *Silling*

² ei *Ian* et

³ alia quia *M Hertz* alia *Urlich*s alia qua *B* aliqua rell

^a *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* “Let a shoemaker stick to his last”

picture and rebuked him, saying that a shoemaker in his criticism must not go beyond the sandal—a remark that has also passed into a proverb^a. In fact he also possessed great courtesy of manners, which made him more agreeable to Alexander the Great, who frequently visited his studio—for, as we have said, Alexander had published an edict for VII, 120 bidding any other artist to paint his portrait, but in the studio Alexander used to talk a great deal about painting without any real knowledge of it, and Apelles would politely advise him to drop the subject, saying that the boys engaged in grinding the colours were laughing at him so much power did his authority exercise over a King who was otherwise of an inascible temper. And yet Alexander conferred honour on him in a most conspicuous instance, he had such an admiration for the beauty of his favourite mistress, named Pancaspe, that he gave orders that she should be painted in the nude by Apelles, and then discovering that the artist while executing the commission had fallen in love with the woman, he presented her to him, great-minded as he was and still greater owing to his control of himself, and of a greatness proved by this action as much as by any other victory because he conquered himself, and presented not only his bedmate but his affection also to the artist, and was not even influenced by regard for the feelings of his favourite in having been recently the mistress of a monarch and now belonged to a painter. Some persons believe that she was the model from which the Aphrodite Anadyomene (Rising from the Sea) was painted. It was Apelles also who, kindly among his rivals, first established the reputation of *Apelles and Alexander*

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88 tionem primus Rhodi constituit sordebat suis, ut pleiumque domestica, percontantique, quanti licceret opera effecta, parvum nescio quid dixerat, at ille quinquagenis talentis poposcit famamque dispersit, se emere, ut pro suis venderet ea res concitavit Rhodios id intellegendum artificem, nec nisi augentibus pietum cessit

Imagines¹ adeo similitudinis indiscretae pinxit, ut—incredibile dictu—Apio grammaticus scriptum reliquerit, quandam ex facie hominum divinantem, quos metoposcopos vocant, ex his dixisse aut futurae 89 mortis annos aut praeteritiae vitae² non fuerat ei gratia in comitatu Alexandri cum Ptolemaeo, quo regnante Alexandriam vi tempestatis expulsus, subornato fraude aemulorum plano regio invitatus, ad cenam venit indignantique Ptolemaeo et vocatores suos ostendenti, ut dicearet, a quo eorum invitatus esset, ariepo carbone extincto e foculo imaginem in paucete delineavit, adgnoscente voltum plani rege 90 inchoatum protinus pinxit et Antigoni regis imaginem alteio lumine orbati³ primus excogitata ratione vitia condendi, obliquam namque fecit, ut,

¹ imagines Gelen imaginem

² vitae add Brunn

³ orbati Mayhoff orbatam

^a The word *μετωποσκόπος* means one who gazes at (examines) foreheads

^b Ptolemy I, who died in 283 B C

^c 382–301 B C One of Alexander's generals, and King of Macedonia 306–301

Piotogenes at Rhodes Piotogenes was held in low esteem by his fellow-countrymen, as is usual with home products, and, when Apelles asked him what price he set on some works he had finished, he had mentioned some small sum, but Apelles made him an offer of fifty talents for them, and spread it about that he was buying them with the intention of selling them as works of his own This device aroused the people of Rhodes to appreciate the artist, and Apelles only parted with the pictures to them at an enhanced price

He also painted portraits so absolutely lifelike that, incredible as it sounds, the grammarian Apio has left it on record that one of those persons called 'physiognomists,'^a who prophesy people's future by their countenance, pronounced from their portraits either the year of the subjects' deaths hereafter or the number of years they had already lived Apelles had been on bad terms with Ptolemy in Alexander's retinue When this Ptolemy^b was King of Egypt, Apelles on a voyage had been driven by a violent storm into Alexandria His rivals maliciously suborned the King's jester to convey to him an invitation to dinner, to which he came Ptolemy was very indignant, and paraded his hospitality-stewards for Apelles to say which of them had given him the invitation Apelles picked up a piece of extinguished charcoal from the hearth and drew a likeness on the wall, the King recognizing the features of the jester as soon as he began the sketch He also painted a portrait of King Antigonus^c who was blind in one eye, and devised an original method of concealing the defect, for he did the likeness in 'three-quarter,' so that the feature that was lacking in the

*Apelles and
Ptolemy I*

*Apelles and
Antigonus*

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quod deerat corpori, picturae deesse¹ potius vide-
 ietur, tantumque eam partem e facie ostendit, quam
 totam poterat ostendere sunt inter opea eius et
 exspanantium imagines quae autem nobilissima
 91 sint, non est facile dictu Venerem exequunt e
 maii divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Cae-
 saris, quae anadyomene vocatur, versibus Graecis
 tali opere,² dum³ laudatur, victo⁴ sed⁵ illustrato⁶
 cuius inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret
 non potuit reperi, verum ipsa iniuria cessit in
 gloriam artificis consenuit haec tabula carie,
 aliamque pro ea substituit Nero in principatu suo
 92 Dorothei manu Apelles inchoaverat et illam
 Venerem Coi,⁷ superatius etiam⁸ illam suam
 priorem invidit mors peracta parte, nec qui
 succederet open ad praescripta liniamenta inventus
 est pinxit et Alexandrum Magnum fulmen tenen-
 tem in templo Ephesiae Dianae viginti talentis anni
 digitii eminebat videtur et fulmen extra tabulam
 esse—legentes meminerint omnia ea quattuor
 coloribus facta, maniprietum eius tabulae in
 nummo⁹ aureo¹⁰ mensuri¹¹ accepit, non numero

¹ adesse *coni Mayhoff*

tantopere *Frohner*

² aevo dum *J Müller*

⁴ victa *edd vett invicto Schneiderwin* vitio *Frohner*
(aevis victa) Mayhoff

⁵ est *Frohner*

⁶ illustrata *edd vett* versibus Graecis dum laudatur, tali
 opere *(aevis) victo*, sed inlustrato *coni Mayhoff*

⁷ *Vl Cois*

⁸ *Vl famam fama Urlichs*

⁹ in numero *cd Par 6801* immane *cd Flor Ricc*

¹⁰ auro olim *Gelen* (*del nummo*) aureos *edd vett*

¹¹ *Vl mensuram*

subject might be thought instead to be absent in the picture, and he only showed the part of the face which he was able to display as unmutilated. Among his works there are also pictures of persons at the point of death. But it is not easy to say which of his productions are of the highest rank. His Aphrodite ^{*Various Works by Apelles*} emerging from the Sea was dedicated by his late lamented Majesty Augustus in the Shrine of his father Caesar; it is known as the Anadyomene, this like other works is eclipsed ^a yet made famous by the Greek verses which sing its praises, the lower part of the picture having become damaged nobody could be found to restore it, but the actual injury contributed to the glory of the artist. This picture however suffered from age and rot, and Nero when emperor substituted another for it, a work by Dorotheus. Apelles had also begun on another Aphrodite at Cos, which was to surpass even his famous earlier one, but death grudged him the work when only partly finished, nor could anybody be found to carry on the task, in conformity with the outlines of the sketches prepared. He also painted Alexander the Great holding a Thunderbolt, in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, for a fee of twenty talents in gold. The fingers have the appearance of projecting from the surface and the thunderbolt seems to stand out from the picture—readers must remember ^b that all these effects were produced by four colours, the artist received the price of this picture in gold coin measured by weight, ^c not

^a ‘Overcome’ or ‘surpassed’ by the poet, who can express more than the painter can, for the painter can represent one moment only ^b See § 50

^c It is suggested that this means that the price was the equivalent (in gold coins) of the weight of the panel

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- 93 pinxit et megabyzii, saecidotis Dianaee Ephesiae, pompam, Clitum cum equo ad bellum festinantem, galeam poscenti armigerum porrigentem¹ Alexandriū et Philippum quotiens pinxerit, enumerae supervacuum est mihi autem eius Habionem Sami, Menandrum, regem Cariae, Rhodi, item Antaeum, Alexandriae Goigosthenen triagoedum, Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alejandro Magno, item Belli imaginem iestrictis ad teiga
 94 manibus, Alexandro in cuius triumphante quas utrasque tabulas divus Augustus in foni sui celeberrimis partibus dicaverat simplicitate moderata, divus Claudius plenis existimavit utrasque excisa Alexandri facie divi Augusti imagines addere eiusdem arbitrantur manu² esse et in Dianaee³ templo Herculem avei sum, ut, quod est difficillimum, faciem eius ostendat venus pictura quam promittat pinxit et heros nudum eaque pictuia naturam ipsam
 95 provocavit est et equus eius, sive fuit, pictus in certamine, quo iudicium ad mutas quadripedes provocavit ab hominibus namque ambitu praevalere aemulos sentiens singulorum picturas inductis equis ostendit Apellis tantum equo adhinc nivele idque et postea semper evenit, ut experimentum
 96 artis illud ostentaretur fecit et Neoptolenum ex⁴

¹ armigero porrigente *coni Mayhoff*

² manum *B*

³ Dianaee *Preller annae B antoniae rell*

⁴ *⟨pugnantem⟩ ex coni Mayhoff lac post Persas Urlichs*

^a Cf § 27 and Serv ad Aen I, 294

^b *I e he did not appropriate them for himself*

counted He also painted a Procession of the Magabuzzus, the priest of Artemis of Ephesus, a Chitus with Horse hastening into battle, and an amoue-bearei handing someone a helmet at his command How many times he painted Alexander and Philip it would be superfluous to recount His Habron at Samos is much admired, as is his Menander King of Caria, at Rhodes, likewise his Antaeus, and at Alexandria his Goigosthenes the Tragic Actor, and at Rome his Castor and Pollux with Victory and Alexander the Great, and also his figure of War ^a with the Hands Tied behind, with Alexander riding in Triumph in his Chariot Both of these pictures his late lamented Majesty Augustus with restrained good taste ^b had dedicated in the most frequented parts of his forum, the emperor Claudius however thought it more advisable to cut out the face of Alexander from both works and substitute portraits of Augustus The Heracles with Face Averted in the temple of Diana is also believed to be by his hand—so drawn that the picture more truly displays Heracles' face than merely suggests it to the imagination—a very difficult achievement He also painted a Nude Hero, a picture with which he challenged Nature herself There is, or was, a picture of a Horse by him, painted in a competition, by which he carried his appeal for judgement from mankind to the dumb quadrupeds, for perceiving that his rivals were getting the better of him by intrigue, he had some horses brought and showed them their pictures one by one, and the horses only began to neigh when they saw the horse painted by Apelles, and this always happened subsequently, showing it to be a sound test of artistic skill He

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

equo adversus Persas, Archelaum cum uxore et filia, Antigonum thoacatum cum equo incedentem peritiores artis praefereunt omnibus eius operibus eundem regem sedentem in equo et Dianam sacrificantium virginum choro mixtam, quibus vicesse Homerū versus videtur id ipsum describentis pinxit et quae pingi non possunt, tonitruī fulgtrū fulguaque, Bionten, Astripen et Ceraunobolian appellant

- 97 Inventa eius et ceteris profuerat in utroque, unum imitari nemo potuit, quod absoluti operi atque imito inlinebat ita tenui, ut id ipsum, cum ¹ repercutsum ² claritates ³ colorum ⁴ omnium ⁵ excitaret custodi et que in pulvere et sordibus, ad manum intuenti ⁶ demum apparearet, sed et lumen ⁷ ratione magna, ne claritas colorum aciem offenderet veluti per lapidem specularem intuentibus et e longinquō eadem res nimis floridis coloribus austerioritatem occulte daret
- 98 Aequalis eius fuit Aristides Thebanus et omnium primus animum pinxit et sensus hominis expressit,

¹ cum add Mayhoff

² repercutsum *B*¹ repercuttu *rell*

³ claritatis *B*, *cd* *Par* 6801 claritates *rell*

⁴ colorem *B* colorum *rell* oculorum *edd* *rett*

⁵ omniū (= omnium) *Mayhoff* iluum *B*¹ alium *B*²

om *rell* album *Traube*

⁶ intuenti et *B*

⁷ et lumen *Mayhoff* etium *B*¹ etiam *B*² et cum *rell* et tum *Hermolaus Barbarus*

^a One of Alexander's generals

^b Two soldiers with this name are recorded as serving under Alexander

^c The One eyed See § 90 and note

also did a Neoptolemus^a on Horseback fighting against the Persians, an Aichelaus^b with his Wife and Daughter, and an Antigonus^c with a Breast-plate marching with his horse at his side Connoisseurs put at the head of all his works the portrait of the same king seated on horseback, and his Artemis in the midst of a band of Maidens offering a Sacrifice, a work by which he may be thought to have surpassed Homer's verses^d describing the same subject He even painted^e things that cannot be represented in pictures—thunder, lightning and thunderbolts, the pictures known respectively under the Greek titles of Bronte, Astriape and Ceraunobola

His inventions in the art of painting have been useful to all other painters as well, but there was one which nobody was able to imitate when his works were finished he used to cover them over with a black varnish of such thinness that its very presence, while its reflection threw up the brilliance of all the colours and preserved them from dust and dirt, was only visible to anyone who looked at it close up, but also employing great calculation of lights, so that the brilliance of the colours should not offend the sight when people looked at them as if through muscovy-glass and so that the same device from a distance might invisibly give sombreness to colours that were too brilliant

Contemporary with Apelles was Aristides^e of Thebes He was the first of all painters who depicted the mind and expressed the feelings of a human

^a *Odyssey* VI, 102 ff which describe Artemis and maidens wildly ranging amongst boars and deer, not sacrificing The mistake arises from the two verbs *θυω*

^b The younger, grandson of Aristides, cf § 75 and note on pp 410 and 411

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quae vocant Graeci $\eta\theta\eta$, item perturbationes, duriori paulo in coloribus huius opera¹ oppido capto ad matris morientis ex volnere mammam adiepens infans, intellegitique sentire mater et timeire, ne emortuo lacte² sanguinem lambat quam tabulam Alexandeī Magnus transtulerat Pellam in
 99 patriam suam idem pinxit pioelium cum Persis, centum homines tabula ea complexus pactusque in singulos mnas denas a tyranno Elatensium Mnasone pinxit et cūientes quadrigas et supplicantem paene cum voce et venatores cum captuia et Leontion Epicuri et anapauomenen propter fratris amorem,³ item Libeūm et Ariadnen⁴ spectatos Romae in aede Cereris tragoedum et puerum in Apollinis,
 100 cuius tabulae gratia interrit pictoris inscritia, cui teigendam eam mandaveiat M Iunius praetor sub die ludorum Apollinarium spectata est et in aede Fidei in Capitolio senis cum lyra puerum docentis pinxit et aegium sine fine laudatum tantumque rite valuit, ut Attalus rex unam tabulam eius centum talentis emisse tradatu

101 Simul, ut dictum est, et Piotogenes floruit patria ei Caunus, gentis Rhodus subiectae summa pauperitas initio artisque summa intentio et ideo

¹ opera B pictura rēll lac Mayhoff

² lacte B flacte B¹ facta rēll e lacte Mayhoff emortuae (aut emortua) pro lacte comi Warmington

³ propter fratris amorem supra post voce transp Urlichs, infra post Ariadnen Dilthey

⁴ artamenen B arianen cd Par Lat 6797 Artomenen Dilthey

^a There appears to be something lost here

^b After he had sacked Thebes in 335 B.C.

^c It would be one of Alexander's great battles with Darius

^d Byblis perhaps, who died of love for her brother Caunus

being, what the Greeks term *ēthē*, and also the emotions, he was a little^a too hard in his colours His works include ^a on the capture of a town, showing an infant creeping to the breast of its mother who is dying of a wound, it is felt that the mother is aware of the child and is afraid that as her milk is exhausted by death it may suck blood, this picture had been removed by Alexander the Great^b to his native place, Pella The same artist painted a Battle^c with the Persians, a panel that contains a hundred human figures, which he painted with to Mnason the Tyrant of Elatea on the terms of ten minae per man He also painted a Four-horse Chariots Racing, a Suppliant, who almost appeared to speak, Huntsmen with Quarry, Leontion Epicurus's mistress, and Woman^d At Rest through Love of her Brother, and likewise the Dionysus and the Ariadne once on view in the Temple of Ceres at Rome, and the Tragic Actor and Boy in the Temple of Apollo, a picture of which the beauty has perished owing to the lack of skill of a painter commissioned by Marcus Junius as praetor to clean it in readiness for the festival of the Games of Apollo There has also been on view in the Temple of Faith in the Capitol his picture of an Old Man with a Lyre giving lessons to a Boy He also painted a Sick Man which has received unlimited praise, and he was so able an artist that King Attalus is said to have bought a single picture of his for a hundred talents

Protogenes also flourished at the same time, as has *Protogenes*
been said He was born at Caunus, in a community § 81
that was under the dominion of Rhodes At the
outset he was extremely poor, and extremely devoted
to his art and consequently not very productive

minor fertilitas quis eum docuerit, non putant constare, quidam et naves pinxisse usque ad quinquagensimum annum, argumentum esse, quod cum Athenis celeberrimo loco Mineivae delubri propylon pingere et, ubi fecit nobilem Paralum et Hammoniada, quam quidam Nausicaan vocant, adiecerit parvulas naves longas in us, quae pictores parergia appellant, ut appareat, a quibus initus ad aicem ostentationis¹

102 opera sua pervenissent palmam habet tabularum eius Ialysus, qui est Romae dicatus in templo Pacis cum pingere et eum, traditur mididis lupinis vivisse, quoniam² sic³ simul et famem sustineret⁴ et sitim nec sensus nimia dulcedine obstrueret⁵ huic picturae quater colorem induvit ceu tria subsidia iniuriae et vetustatis, ut decadente⁶ superiore inferior succederet est in ea cunis mire factus, ut quem pariter ars et casus⁷ pinxit non iudicabat se in eo exprimere spumam anhelantis, cum in reliqua parte omni, quod difficillimum erat, sibi ipse satis fecisset displicebat autem aīs ipsa nec minui poterat et videbatur nimia ac longius a veritate discedere, spumaque pingi, non ex ore nasci anxi animi cruciatu, cum in pictura verum esse, non verisimile vellet, abstenebat saepius mutaveratque

103

¹ artis ostentationem *Rochette*² quo *Traube*³ sic add *Mayhoff*⁴ sustinerent *edd vett*⁵ obstrueret *B, cl Par 6801* obstruerent *rell*⁶ decadente *B recte?*⁷ ars et casus *Weil* casus et ars *edd vett* et casus *B*
casus *rell*^a Patron heroes of sacred Athenian triremes used in state services The Hammonias replaced the older ship Salaminia^b Incidental details of any sort^c With reference perhaps to the Acropolis or stronghold (*arx*) of Athens^d Mythical founder of Ialysus in Rhodes

Who his teacher was is believed to be unrecorded Some people say that until the age of fifty he was also a ship-painter, and that this is proved by the fact that when he was decorating with paintings, on a very famous site at Athens, the gateway of the Temple of Athene, where he depicted his famous Parilus and Hammonias,^a which is by some people called the Nausicaa, he added some small drawings of battleships in what painters call the 'side-pieces,'^b in order to show from what commencement his work had arrived at the pinnacle^c of glorious display Among his pictures the palm is held by his Ialysus,^d which is consecrated in the Temple of Peace in Rome It is said that while painting this he lived on soaked lupins, because he thus at the same time both sustained his hunger and thirst and avoided blunting his sensibilities by too luxurious a diet For this picture he used four coats of paint, to serve as three protections against injury and old age, so that when the upper coat disappeared the one below it would take its place In the picture there is a dog marvellously executed, so as to appear to have been painted by art and good fortune jointly the artist's own opinion was that he did not fully show in it the foam of the panting dog, although in all the remaining details he had satisfied himself, which was very difficult But the actual art displayed displeased him, nor was he able to diminish it, and he thought it was excessive and departed too far from reality—the foam appeared to be painted, not to be the natural product of the animal's mouth, vexed and tormented, as he wanted his picture to contain the truth and not merely a near-truth, he had several times rubbed off the paint and used another

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

penicillum, nullo modo sibi adprobans postremo iratus arti, quod intellegéretur, spongeam impedit inviso loco tabulae et illa reposuit ablatis colores qualiter cuia optaverat, fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam

104 Hoc exemplo eius similis et Nealcen successus spumae equi similiter spongea impacta secutus dicitur, cum¹ pingere² poppyzont³ retinentem eum⁴ ita Protogenes monstravit et fortunam⁴

Proptei hunc Ialysum, ne cimariet tabulum, Demetrius rex, cum ab ea parte sola posset Rhodum capere, non incendit, parcentemque picturæ fugit
105 occasio victoriae erat tunc Protogenes in suburbano suo horitulo, hoc est Demetrii castris,⁵ neque interpellatus proelis incohata opera intermisit omnino nisi accitus a rege, interrogatusque, qua fiducia extia muros ageret, respondit scie se cum Rhodius illi bellum esse, non cum aitibus disposuit rex in tutelam eius stationes, gaudens quod manus servaret, quibus pepercerat, et, ne saepius avocaret, ultro ad eum venit hostis relictusque victoriae suaæ

¹ *I l* dicuntur cum (discret B) dum celetem *Traube*

pingitur B² *pingatur B¹* *pingit ac Traube*

³ *I l* retinent pane cum *varia temptant edd*

⁴ ita fortunam *transp vult W armington supra post*
naturam § 103 *idem coni* ita *<et iram >*

⁵ *hoc castiss delendum l (Urlich)*

^a See § 102, p 337

brush, quite unable to satisfy himself Finally he fell into a rage with his art because it was perceptible, and dashed a sponge against the place in the picture that offended him, and the sponge restored the colours he had removed, in the way that his anxiety had wished them to appear, and chance produced the effect of nature in the picture!

It is said that Nealces also following this example of his achieved a similar success in representing a horse's foam by dashing a sponge on the picture in a similar manner, in a representation of a man clucking in his cheek to soothe a horse he was holding Thus did Protogenes indicate the possibilities of a stroke of luck also

It was on account of this Ialysus ^a that King Demetrius, in order to avoid burning a picture, abstained from setting fire to Rhodes when the city could only be taken from the side where the picture was stored, and through consideration for the safety of a picture lost the chance of a victory! Protogenes at the time was in his little garden on the outskirts of the city, that is in the middle of the 'Camp of Demetrius,' and would not be interrupted by the battles going on, or on any account suspend the works he had begun, had he not been summoned by the King, who asked him what gave him the assurance to continue outside the walls He replied that he knew the King was waging war with the Rhodians, not with the arts The King, delighted to be able to safeguard the hands which he had spared, placed guardposts to protect him, and, to avoid repeatedly calling him from his work, actually though an enemy came to pay him visits, and quitting his inspirations for his own victory, in the thick of battles and the

*Protogenes
and King
Demetrius*

305-4 B.C.

votis inter amicorum ictus spectavit artificem, sequiturque tabulam illius temporis hanc fama, quod eam Protagoras sub gladio pinxit

106 Satyrus hic est, quem anapauomenon vocant, ne quid desit temporis eius securitati, tenentem tibias

Fecit et Cydippe et Tlepolemus, Philiscum tragoeiarum scriptorem meditantem, et athletam¹ et Antigonum regem, matrem Aristotelis philosophi, qui ei suadebat, ut Alexandri Magni opera pingeret propter aeternitatem eius, impetus animi et quae-dam artis libido in haec potius eum tulere, novissime pinxit Alexandrium² ac Pana fecit et signa ex aere, ut dirimus

107 Eadem aetate fuit Asclepiodorus, quem in symmetria mirabatur Apelles huic Mnaso tyannus pro duodecim dnis dedit in singulos mnas tricenas, idemque Theomnesto in singulos heroas vicinas

108 His adnumerari debet et Nicomachus³ filius ac discipulus pinxit iactum Pioseipinae, quae tabula fuit in Capitolio in Minervae delubro supra aediculam Iuventatis, et in eodem Capitolio, quam Plancus imperatori posuerat, Victoria quadrigam in sublime iapiens Ulri primus addidit pilleum

109 pinxit et Apollinem ac Diana^c, deumque matrem in leone sedentem, item nobiles Bacchus obiep-

¹ Acetam Gronov

² Alexandream Frohner

³ Aristidis Mayhoff coll 111, 122 Aristidi Ullrichs Aristidae illius Oemichen Aristaei Sillig aristaci B ariste(i)cheimi rell

^a Phaestis or Phœstia^b

^b The elder, cf § 75 and note on pp 410 and 411

^c Before the fire of A D 64

^d Munatius, who triumphed in 43 B C

^e Cybele

battering down of walls, looked on at the work of an artist. And even to this day the story is attached to a picture of that date that Protogenes painted it with a sword hanging over him. The picture is the one of a Satyr, called the Satyr Reposing, and to give a final touch to the sense of security felt at the time, the figure holds a pan of flutes.

Other works of Protogenes were a Cydippe, a Tlepolemus, a Philiscus the Tragic Poet in Meditation, an Athlete, a portrait of King Antigonus, and one of the Mother^a of Aristotle the philosopher. Aristotle used to advise the artist to paint the achievements of Alexander the Great, as belonging to history for all time. The impulse of his mind however and a certain artistic capriciousness led him rather to the subjects mentioned. His latest works were pictures of Alexander and of Pan. He also made bronze statues, as we have said.

*Other works
of Protogene*

XXXIV

In the same period there was also Asclepiodorus, who was admired by Apelles for his proportions. For a picture of the Twelve Gods the tyrant Mnaso paid him three hundred minae per god. The same pation paid Theomnestus twenty minae for each of the heroes in a picture.

*Asclepideo
dorus*

To the list of these artists must also be added Nicomachus son and pupil of Aistides^b. He painted a Rape of Persephone, a picture formerly^c in the Shrine of Mineiva on the Capitol, just above the Chapel of Youth, and there was also in the Capitol, where it was placed by General Plancus,^d his Victory hurling her Chariot aloft. He was the first painter who represented Odysseus wearing a felt skull-cap. He also painted an Apollo and Artemis, and the Mother^e of the Gods seated on a Lion, and likewise

*Nicomachu
and others*

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- tantibus Satyis, Scyllamque, quae nunc est Romae
in templo Pacis nec fuit aliis in ea arte velociori
tradunt namque conduisse pingendum ab Auctiato
Sicyoniorum tyranno, quod is faciebat Telesti poetice
monumentum piaefinito die, intia quem peragearetur,
nec multo ante venisse, tyranno in poenam accenso,
paucisque diebus absolvisse et celeritate et arte
110 mua Discipulos habuit Aristonem fratrem et
Aristiden¹ filium et Philoxenum Eretium, cuius
tabula nullis postferenda, Cassandro regi picta
continuit Alexandri proelium cum Dario idem
pinxit et lasciviam, in qua tres Sileni comissantur
hic celeritatem praceptoris secutus breviores etiam
num quasdam picturae compendiarias invenit
111 Adnumeratui his et Nicophanes, elegans ac con-
cinnus ita, ut venustate ei pauci conparentur,
cothurnus et gravitas artis multum a Zeuxide et
Apelle abest Apellis discipulus Peisews, ad quem
de hac arte scripsit, huius fuerat aetatis Aristidis
Thebani discipuli fuerunt et filii Niceros et Ariston
cuius est Satyrus cum scypho coronatus, discipuli
Antonides² et Euphranor, de quo mox dicemus
112 XXXVII Namque subterri pari est minoris picturae
celebres in penicillo, e quibus fuit Piraeicus³

¹ I l Aristoclem² Antenorides Letronne³ Piraeicus Ian pirasicus B praeicus aut preicus tell
(peritus cd Par 680)^a The younger Cf §98 and note on pp 410-411^b King of Macedonia 306-297 B C^c The younger confused with the elder, §§ 75, 98, 108^d Really pupils of the elder Aristides^e Really pupils of the elder Aristides

a fine picture of Bacchants with Satyrs prowl^{ing} towards them, and a Scylla that is now in the Temple of Peace in Rome. No other painter was ever a more rapid worker. Indeed it is recorded that he accepted c 395 BC a commission from the tyrant of Sicily Aristiatus to paint by a given date a monument that he was erecting to the poet Telestes, and that he only ~~at~~ c 398 arrived not long before the date, the wrathful tyrant threatened to punish him, but in a few days he finished the work with a speed and an artistic skill that were both remarkable. Among his pupils were his brother Ariston and his son Aristides,^a and Philoxenus of Eretria, who painted for King Cassander^b a picture that holds the highest rank, containing a battle between Alexander and Darius. He also painted a picture with a wanton subject showing three Sileni at their revels. Imitating the rapidity of his master he introduced some shorthand methods of painting, executed with still more rapidity of technique.

With these artists is also reckoned Nicophanes, an elegant and finished painter with whom few can be compared for gracefulness, but who for tragic feeling and weight of style is far from Zeuxis and Apelles. Peiseus, the pupil to whom Apelles dedicated his § 79 volumes on the art of painting, had belonged to the same period. Aristides^c of Thebes also had as his pupils his sons Niceros and Ariston,^d the latter the painter of a Satyr Crowned with a Wreath and Holding a Goblet, and other pupils of Aristides were Antorides and Euphanor^e, about the latter we shall speak later on.

XXXVII For it is proper to append the artists famous with the brush in a minor style of painting § 128
Prae*cur*
and other

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

arte paucis postferendus, proposito nescio an dis-
 tinxerit¹ se, quoniam humilia quidem secutus
 humilitatis tamen summam adeptus est glorium
 tonstrinas sutrinasque pinxit et asellos et obsonia
 ac similia, ob haec cognominatus hypognaphos,
 in us consummatae voluptatis, quippe eae plures
 113 veniere quam maximae multorum e diverso
 Maeniana, inquit Varro, omnia operiebat Serapionis
 tabula sub Veteribus hic scaenas optime pinxit,
 sed hominem pingere non potuit contra Dionysius
 nihil aliud quam homines pinxit, ob id anthropo-
 114 gnaphos cognominatus parvus et Callicles fecit, item
 Calates comicis tabellis utraque Antiphilus namque
 et Hesionam nobilem pinxit et Alexandrum ac
 Philippum cum Mineva, qui sunt in schola^a in
 Octaviae porticibus, et in Philippi Liberum patrem,
 Alexandrum puerum, Hippolytum tauro emissῳ
 expavescientem, in Pompeia vero Cadmum et
 Europen idem iocoso^b nomine Gyllum denudiculi
 habitus pinxit, unde id genus picturae gylli vo-
 cantur ipse in Aegypto natus didicit a Ctesidemo

¹ distinxerit Mayhoff distrinxerit Frohner distruxerit
 aut destruxerit ² iocoso edd vett iocosis aut locosis

^a Balconies on houses in Rome first built by one Maenius
^b Large and small pictures

Among these was Pnaeicus, to be ranked below few painteris in skill, it is possible that he won distinction by his choice of subjects, inasmuch is although adopting a humble line he attained in that field the height of glory He painted barbers' shops and cobblers' stalls, asses, viands and the like, consequently receiving a Greek name meaning 'painter of sordid subjects', in these however he gives exquisite pleasure, and indeed they fetched bigger prices than the largest works of many masters On the other hand 'a picture by Serapio,' says Vairo, 'covered the whole of the Maenian Balconies^a at the place Beneath the Old Shops' Serapio was a most successful scene-painter, but he could not paint a human being On the contrary, Dionysius painted nothing else but people, and consequently has a Greek name meaning 'Painter of Human Beings' Callicles also made small pictures, and so did Calates of subjects taken from comedy both classes^b were painted by Antiphilus, who executed the famous picture of Hesione and an Alexander and a Philip^c with Athene which are now in the school in Octavia's Porticoes, and in Philippus'^d Portico a Fathei Liber or Dionysus, a Young Alexander, a Hippolytus alarmed by the Bull rushing upon him, and in Pompey's Portico a Cadmus and Europa He also painted a figure in an absurd costume known by the joking name of Gyllus, the name consequently applied to every picture of that sort He was himself born in Egypt and a pupil of Ctesidemus

^c King of Macedon, father of Alexander

^d Of L Marcus Philippus, built in 29 b c , Octavia's were built after 27 b c , Pompey's (see below) in 55 b c

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

115 Decet non sileri et Audeatis templi pictorem
praesertim civitate donatum ibi et carmine,¹ quod
est in ipsa pictura his versibus

Dignis dignu'² loco³ picturis condecoravit
reginae Iunonis supremi coniugis templum
Plautius Marcus⁴, cluet Asia lata⁵ esse oriundus,
quem nunc et post semper ob aitem hunc Audea
laudat,

116 eaque sunt scripta antiquis litteris Latinis non
fraudando⁶ et S Tadio⁷ divi Augusti aetate, qui
primus instituit amoenissimam parietum picturam,
villas et porticus⁸ ac topia⁹ opera, lucos, nemora,
colles, piscinas, eunipos, amnes, litora, qualia quis
optaret, varias ibi obambulantum species aut navigantium
terraque villas adeuntium ascellis aut
vehiculis, iam pescantes, aucupantes aut venantes
117 aut etiam vindemiantes sunt in eius exemplaribus
nobiles palustri¹⁰ accessu¹¹ villae, succollatis¹² sponsione¹³
mulieribus labantes trepidis quae¹⁴ feruntur,
plurimae praeterita tales aegutie facetissimi salis

¹ carmen Schneidewin

dignu' *Hermolaus Barbarus* digna

³ fortasse *Lyco* fortasse dignu' loco dignis picturis vel dignis
digna loco picturis

⁴ plaucius marcus B mareus plautis marcus rell

⁵ cluet Asia lata *Bergk Cleoetas Alalia Sillig* cluetas
alata B cloet (do et cd *Flor Ricc*) asia lata rell

⁶ fraudanda *Mayhoff*

⁷ S Tadio *Urlichs, Ian studio B ludio rell*

⁸ porticus cd *Par Lat 6797, ut videtur portus rell*

⁹ palustri B paulstri rell plaustri edd vett

¹⁰ accessu B ac censu rell

¹¹ succollatis cld (suae collatis B) subcollantum *Hermo*
laus Barbarus

¹² specie *Hermolaus Barbarus*

¹³ trepidis quae B, cd *Leid Voss* trepidisque rell

It is proper also not to pass over the painter of the temple at Ardea, especially as he was granted the citizenship of that place and honoured with an inscription on the picture, consisting in the following verses

One Marcus Plautius, a worthy man,
 Adorned, with paintings worthy of this place,^a
 The shrine of Juno, Queen of Spouse supreme,
 This Marcus Plautius, as men know, was born
 In Asia wide Now, and hereafter always,
 Ardea applauds him for this work of art

These lines are written in the antique Latin script
 Nor must Spurius Tadius ^b also, of the period of his *Tadius*
 late lamented Majesty Augustus, be cheated of his due, who first introduced the most attractive fashion ^{Before} ^{A D 37} of painting walls with pictures of country houses and porticoes and landscape gardens, groves, woods, hills, fish-ponds, canals, rivers, coasts, and whatever anybody could desire, together with various sketches of people going for a stroll or sailing in a boat or on land going to country houses riding on asses or in carriages, and also people fishing and fowling or hunting or even gathering the vintage His works include splendid villas approached by roads across marshes,^c men tottering and staggering along carrying women on their shoulders for a bargain, and a number of humorous drawings of that sort besides, extremely wittily designed He

^a But perhaps the right reading is *Dignis digna Lyco*
 'To the worthy, worthy reward, Lycon adorned' *I e*
 the artist was M Plautius Lycon, keeping his Greek name
 when he received a new one on becoming a citizen at Ardea

^b Or Studius or Ludius The reading is uncertain

^c Or 'well known among his works are men approaching a country house across marshes' The Latin text of much of this sentence is uncertain

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

idem subdialibus maritimas urbes pingere instituit,
blandissimo aspectu minimoque impendio

118 Sed nulla gloria artificum est nisi qui tabulas
pinxere eo venerabiliori antiquitatis prudentia
apparet non enim parietes excolabant dominis
tantum nec domos uno in loco mansuas, quae ex
incendio rapi non possent casa Piotogenes con-
tentus erat in hortulo suo, nulla in Apellis tectoris
pictura erat nondum habebat parietes totos tin-
gueire, omnium eorum aës urbibus excubabat,
pictisque res communis terrarum erat

119 Fuit et Aiellius Romae celebri paulo ante divum
Augustum, ni flagitio insigni corrupisset artem,
semper ei lenocinans feminae, cuius¹ amore flag-
raret, et² ob id deas pingens, sed dilectum imagine
120 itaque in pictuia eius scorta numerabantur fuit
et nuper gravis ac severus idemque floridis tumidus³
pictor Famulus⁴ huius erat Mineva spectantem
spectans, quacumque aspiceretur paucis diei hunc
pingebat, id quoque cum gravitate, quod semper
togatus, quamquam in machinis carcer eius artis
domus aerea fuit, et ideo non extant exempla alii
magnopere post eum fuisse in auctoritate Cor-
nelius Pinus et Attius Piiscus, qui Honoris

¹ feminae cuius Mayhoff cuius feminae

² flagraret et Urlichs flagrans esset coni Sillig flagrans et

³ floridis tumidus coni Jan floridis (floridus B²) umidus
B floridus humilis cd Par Lat 6797 f h rei cd Par
6801 f humidis cd Flor Ricc f umidis rell floridus et
vividus Traube floridus Sillig floridissimus Urlichs floridus
multus vel f nitidus vel invictus coni Mayhoff S Ummidius
Frohner

⁴ Famulus cdd famulus Frohner Fabullus ed princ

^a I.e. canvases or panels, not wall paintings ^b Nero's palace

also introduced using pictures of seaside cities to decorate uncovered terraces, giving a most pleasing effect and at a very small expense

But among artists great fame has been confined to painters of pictures only,^a a fact which shows the wisdom of early times to be the more worthy of respect, for they did not decorate walls, merely for owners of property, or houses, which would remain in one place and which could not be rescued from a fire. Piotogenes was content with a cottage in his little garden, Apelles had no wall-frescoes in his house, it was not yet the fashion to colour the whole of the walls. With all these artists then art was on the alert for the benefit of cities, and a painter was the common property of the world.

A little before the period of his late lamented *Arellius* Majesty Augustus, *Arellius* also was in high esteem at Rome, had he not prostituted his art by a notorious outrage, by always paying court to any woman he happened to fall in love with, and consequently painting goddesses, but in the likeness of his mistresses, and so his pictures included a number of portraits of harlots. Another recent painter was *Famulus* *Famulus*, a dignified and severe but also very florid artist, to him belonged a *Mineva* who faced the spectator at whatever angle she was looked at. *Famulus* used to spend only a few hours a day in painting, and also took his work very seriously, as he always wore a toga, even when in the midst of his easels. The Golden House^b was the prison that contained his productions, and this is why other examples of his work are not extant to any considerable extent. After him in esteem were Cornelius *Pinus* and Attius *Priscus*, who painted

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

Virtutis aedes Imperatori Vespasiano Augusto
restituenti pinxerunt, Priscus antiquis simulior

- 121 XXXVIII Non est omittenda in picturae men-
tione celebris circa Lepidum fabula, siquidem in
triumviratu quodam loco deductus a magistratibus
in nemorosum hospitium minaciter cum us postero
die expostulavit somnum ademptum sibi volucrum
concentu, at illi diaconem in longissima membiana
depictum circumdedere luco, eoque teriore aves
tunc siluisse narratur et postea posse compesci
- 122 XXXIX Ceris pingere ac picturam inurere quis
primus excogitaverit, non constat quidam Aristidis
inventum putant, postea consummatum a Piatitele,
sed aliquanto vetustiores encaustae picturae ex-
stite, ut Polygnoti et Nicanoris, Mnesilai¹ Pa-
riorum Elasippus² quoque Aeginae picturae suaे
inscripsit ἐνέκαεν, quod profecto non fecisset nisi
encaustica inventa
- 123 XL Pamphilus quoque, Apellis praeceptor, non
pinxit solum encausta, sed etiam docuisse
traditur Pausian Sicyonium, primum in hoc genere
nobilem Biyetis filius hic fuit eiusdemque primo
discipulus pinxit et ipse penicillo parietes Thespis,
cum reficerentur quondam a Polygnoto picti,

¹ Mnesilai *Mayhoff* mens im *B* ae aut e manesilai *rell*
ac Mnasilai *Dettefson* et Archesilai *Hermolaus Barbarus* (et
arcesilai cd *Par* 6801 ut videtur)

² Elasippus *Schneideur* elasippus *B* lassippus *rell*
Lysippus *edd* vett

^a With Octavian and Antony, formed in 43 b c

^b Apparently the elder, cf § 75

the temples of Honour and Virtue for the Emperor Vespasian's restoration of them, Priscus was nearer in style to the artists of old days

XXXVIII In speaking of painting one must not omit the famous story about Lepidus During his Triumvirate,^a when entertained by the magistrates of a certain place, he was given lodging in a house buried in trees, and the next day he complained to them in threatening language that he had been robbed of sleep by the singing of the birds, however the authorities had a picture of a large snake made on an extremely long strip of parchment and fixed it up round the wood, and the story goes that this at once frightened the birds into silence, and that subsequently it was possible to keep them in check.

XXXIX It is not agreed who was the inventor of painting in wax and of designs in encaustic *Painting in
wax en
caustic*
Some people think it was a discovery of Alcistides,^b subsequently brought to perfection by Praxiteles, but there were encaustic paintings in existence at a considerably earlier date, for instance those of Polygnotus, and Nicanor and Mnasilaus of Paros. Also Elasippus of Aegina has inscribed on a picture *enekaen* ('burnt in'), which he would not have done if the art of encaustic painting had not been invented.

XL It is recorded also that Pamphilus, the teacher of Apelles, not only painted in encaustic but also taught it to Pausias of Sicyon, the first artist who became famous in this style. Pausias was the son of Bryetes, and started as his father's pupil. He himself also did some wall-painting with the brush at Thespiae, when some old paintings by Polygnotus were being restored, and he was deemed to come

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

multumque comparatione superatus existimabatur,
 124 quoniam non suo genere certasset idem et lacunaria primus pingere instituit, nec cum arias ante eum
 taliter adornari mos fuit, parvas pingebat tabellas
 maximeque pueros hoc aemuli interpretabantur
 facere eum, quoniam tanta picturae ratio esset illi
 quum ob rem datus ei celestatis famam absolvit
 uno die tabellam quae vocata est hemelesios, puer
 125 pieto ruravit in iuventa Glycera am municipem suam,
 inventicem coronarum, certandoque imitatione eius
 ad numerosissimam florum varietatem perduxit
 artem illam postremo pinxit et¹ ipsam sedentem
 cum corona, quae e nobilissimis tabula est, appellata
 stepharoplocos, ab aliis stephanopolis, quoniam
 Glycera conditando coronas sustentaverat pauper-
 tam huius tabulae exemplar, quod apographon
 vocant, L Lucullus duobus talentis emit²
 126 Dionysius³ Athenis Pausias autem fecit et grandes
 tabulas, sicut spectatam in Pompei porticu boum
 immolationem eam primus invenit picturam, quam
 postea imitati sunt multi, aequavit nemo ante
 omnia, cum longitudinem bovis ostendi vellet,
 adversum eum pinxit, non traversum, et abunde

¹ et B om yell

² lac Mayhoff

³ Dionysius Pintranus a Dionysio edd vett

^a There is no proof that perspective is meant, but somehow
 Pausias gave the figure due relief

off very second best in comparison with the original artist, having entered into competition in what was not really his line Pausias also first introduced the painting of panelled ceilings, and it was not customary before him to decorate arched roofs in this way He used to paint miniatures, and especially children His rivals explained this practice as being due to the slow pace of his work in painting, and consequently to give his work also the reputation of speed he finished a picture in a single day, a picture of a boy which was called in Greek *Hemeresios*, meaning One-day Boy In his youth he fell in love with a fellow-towns-woman named Glycera, who invented chaplets of flowers, and by imitating her in rivalry he advanced the art of encaustic painting so as to reproduce an extremely numerous variety of flowers Finally he painted a portrait of the woman herself, seated and wearing a wreath, which is one of the very finest of pictures, it is called in Greek *Stephanoplocos*, Girl making Wreaths, or by others *Stephanopolis*, Girl selling Wreaths, because Glycera had supported her poverty by that trade A copy (in Greek *apographon*) of this picture was bought by Lucius Lucullus at Athens for two talents, *(it had been made by)* ^{88-7 B.C.} Dionysius at Athens But Pausias also did large pictures, for instance the Sacrifice of Oxen which formerly was to be seen in Pompey's Portico He first invented a method of painting which has afterwards been copied by many people but equalled by no one, the chief point was that although he wanted to show the long body of an ox he painted the animal facing the spectator and not standing sideways, and its great size is fully conveyed ^a

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

127 intellegitur amplius dem, cum omnes, quae volunt eminentia videui, candicanti faciant colore, quae condunt, nigro, hic totum bovem atii coloris fecit umbraeque corpus ex ipsa¹ dedit, magna prouisus aite in aequo extantia ostendente et in confacto solida omnia Sicyone et hic vitam egit, diuque illa fuit patria picturae tabulas inde e publico omnes propter aes alienum civitatis addictas Seauri aedilitas Romam transtulit

128 Post eum eminuit longe ante omnes Euphranor Isthmius olympiade ciii, idem qui inter dictus est nobis fecit et colossos et marmorea et typos² scalpsit, docilis ac laboriosus ante omnes et in quocumque genere excellens ac sibi aequalis hic primus videtur expressisse dignitates heroum et usurpasse symmetrian, sed fuit in universitate corporum exihor et capitibus articulisq; grandior

129 volumina quoque composuit de symmetria et coloribus opera eius sunt equestre pioelum, vii dei, Theseus, in quod dixit eundem apud Parianum rosa pastum esse, suum vero cane nobilis eius tabula Ephesi est, Ulves simulata insania bovem cum equo iungens et palliat cogitantes, dux gladium condens

¹ vel ipso

² scyphos cd Par 6801

^a Pliny perhaps means that in spite of varying ('broken') tones of black, all the black looks solid

^b I.e. later than P. But this is wrong. Pliny's mistake has been traced to his confusion of the two artists named Aristides. Cf §§ 75, 108, 111 and note on pp 410-11

^c Fingers and toes?

^d Which preceded the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C. Thus

Next, whereas all painters ordinarily execute in light colour the parts they wish to appear prominent and in dark those they wish to keep less obvious, this artist has made the whole ox of a black colour and has given substance to the shadow from the shadow itself, with quite remarkable skill that shows the shapes standing out on a level surface and a uniform solidity on a broken ground ^a. Pausias also passed his life at Sicyon, which was for a long period a native place of painting. But all the pictures there had to be sold to meet a debt of the community, and were removed from the ownership of the state to Rome by Scævus as aedile

56 B.C.

After Pausias,^b Euphranor the Isthmian distinguished himself far before all others, in the 104th Olympiad, he has also appeared in our account of statuary ^{364-361 B.C.} ^{xxxiv, 50} His works included colossal statues, works in marble, and reliefs, as he was exceptionally studious and diligent, excelling in every field and never falling below his own level. This artist seems to have been the first fully to represent the lofty qualities of heroes, and to have achieved good proportions, but he was too slight in his structure of the whole body and too large in his heads and joints ^c. He also wrote books about proportions and about colours. Works of his are a Cavalry Battle, ^d the Twelve Gods, and a Theseus, in respect of which he said that Parrhasius's Theseus had lived on a diet of roses, but his was a beef-eater. There is a celebrated picture by him at Ephesus, Odysseus Feigning Madness and yoking an ox with a horse, with men in cloaks reflecting, and the leader sheathing his sword

and the next two pictures were both in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios at Athens Paus I, 3, 3-4

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 130 Eodem tempore fuerit Cydias,¹ cuius tabulam Argonautas his ~~cxxxviii~~ Hortensius orator mercatus est eique aedem fecit in Tusculano suo Euphranoris autem discipulus Antidotus huius est clipeo dimicantis Athenis et luctatori tubicenque inter pauca laudatus ipse diligentior quam numerosior et in coloribus severius² maxime inclaruit discipulo Nicia Atheniense, qui diligentissime mulieres pinxit
 131 lumen et umbras custodut atque ut eminebant e tabulis picturæ³ maxime curavit operum⁴ eius Nemea advecta ex Asia Romam a Silano, quam in curia divinitus positam, item Libri patei in aede Concordiae, Hyacinthus, quem Caesar Augustus delectatus eo secum depositavit Alexandria capta, et ob id Tiberius Caesar in templo eius dicavit hanc tabulam, et Danae,⁵ Ephesi vero est megabyzzi,
 132 sacerdotis Ephesiae Diana, sepulchrum, Athenis necyomantea Homeri hanc vendere Attalo regi noluit talents LX potiusque patriae suae donavit abundans opibus fecit et grandes picturas, in quibus sunt Calypso et Io et Andromeda, Alexander quoque in Pompei porticibus praecellens et Calypso sedens huic eidem⁶ adscribuntur

¹ Cydias Detlefsen et Cydias Cythnius Urlich, Bergk cydi (aut cidi) et cydias (aut cidias)

² ill severior ³ figuræ con, Mayhoff

⁴ operū (= operum) Mayhoff opera

⁵ danae // cd Leid Voss vll danaen, danen, diana

⁶ eidem Siliq, Schultz quidem edd vett fidem

^a In the forum at Rome, built by Tiberius, A.D. 14

^b 'Place of prophecy of the dead,' Odysey Bk XI

^c Attalus I of Pergamum, 241–197 B.C. But Plutarch is probably right in giving the king's name as Ptolemy I Soter, ruler of Egypt 323–284 B.C.

Contemporaries of Euphranor were Cydias, for *Cydias* whose picture of the Argonauts the orator Hortensius 114-50 B.C. paid 144,000 sesterces, and made a shrine for its reception at his villa at Tusculum. Euphranor's pupil was Antidotus. Works by the latter are a *Antidotus* Combatant with a Shield at Athens and a Wrestler and a Trumpeter which has been exceptionally praised. Antidotus himself was more careful in his work than prolific, and severe in his use of colours, his chief distinction was being the teacher of the Athenian Nicias, who was an extremely careful painter of female portraits. Nicias kept a strict watch on light and shade, and took the greatest pains to make his paintings stand out from the panels. Works of his are a Nemea, brought to Rome from 75 B.C. Asia by Silanus and deposited in the Senate-house as we have said, and also the Father Liber or Dionysus § 27 in the Shrine of Concord, a Hyacinthus with which Caesar Augustus was so delighted that when he took 30 B.C. Alexandria he brought it back with him—and consequently Tiberius Caesar dedicated this picture in the Temple ^a of Augustus—and a Danae, while at Ephesus there is the tomb of a megabyzus or priest of Diana of Ephesus, and at Athens there is a Necyomantea ^b of Homer. The last the artist refused to sell to King Attalus ^c for 60 talents, and preferred to present it to his native place, as he was a wealthy man. He also executed some large pictures, among them a Calypso, an Io ^d and an Andromeda, and also the very fine Alexander in Pompey's Porticoes and a Seated Calypso are assigned to him.

*Nicias
the younger*

^a One or two extant later paintings may be copies of this
^b Rumpf, *Journ Hellen St*, LXVII 21

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 133 Quadripedum¹ prosperissime canes expressit hic est Nicias, de quo dicebat Plinie interrogatus, quae maxime opera sua probaret in marionibus quibus Nicias manum admovisset, tantum circumflexione eius tribuebat non satis discernitur, alium eodem nomine an hunc eundem quidam faciant olympiade cxii
- 134 Niciae comparatur et aliquando praefertur Athenior Maronites, Glaucionis Corinthii discipulus, austerior colore et in austeritate iucundior, ut in ipsa pictura eruditio eluceat pinxit in templo Eleusine phylacterium et Athenis frequentiam, quam vocavere syngenicon, item Achillem virginis habitu occultatum Ulysses dependente et in una tabula vi signa,² quaque maxime inclaruit, agasonem cum equo quod nisi in iuventa obiisset, nemo compararetur
- 135 Est nomen et Heraclidi Macedoni initio naves pinxit captoque Peiseo rege Athenas commigravit ubi eodem tempore erat Metrodorus, pictor idemque philosophus, in utraque scientia magnae auctoritatis itaque cum L Paulus devicto Peiseo petisset ab Atheniensibus, ut u sibi quam probatissimum philosophum mitterent ad euendi liberos, item pictorem ad triumphum excolendum, Athenienses Metrodorum elegerunt, professi eundem in utroque desiderio praestantissimum, quod ita Paulus quoque

¹ quadripedum *Madrig* quadripedē (quadrupedes *B*)
vi signa *Gironov* insigni *Durand* ut signa

^a It must be remembered that Greek marbles were painted

In drawings of animals he was most successful with dogs. It is this Nicias of whom Praxiteles used to say, when asked which of his own works in marble he placed highest, 'The ones to which Nicias has set his hand'—so much value did he assign to his colouring of surfaces^a. It is not quite clear whether it is another artist of the same name or this Nicias whom some people put in the 112th Olympiad.

332-329 B.C.

Nicias the elder

With Nicias is compared Athenion of Maroneia, and sometimes to the disadvantage of the former. Athenion was a pupil of Glaucion of Corinth, he is more sombre in his colour than Nicias and yet thereewithal more pleasing, so that his extensive knowledge shines out in his actual painting. He painted a Cavalry Captain in the temple at Eleusis and at Athens the group of figures which has been called the Family Group, and also an Achilles Disguised in Female Dress detected by Odysseus, a group of six figures in a single picture, and a Groom with a Horse, which has specially contributed to his fame. If he had not died in youth, there would have been nobody to compare with him.

Herachides of Macedon is also a painter of note. He began by painting ships, and after the capture of King Perseus he migrated to Athens, where at the same period was the painter Metrodorus, who was also a philosopher and a great authority in both fields. Accordingly when Lucius Paulus after conquering Perseus requested the Athenians to send him their most esteemed philosophers to educate his children, and also a painter to embellish his triumphal procession, the Athenians selected Metrodorus, stating that he was most distinguished in both of these requirements alike, as to which Paulus also

*Herachides*168 B.C.
Metrodorus

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

- 136 iudicavit Timomachus Byzantius Caesaris dictatoris aestate Aiacem et Medium pinxit, ab eo in Veneris Genetivis aede positas, lxx talentis venundatas talentum Atticum $\times \overline{v}^1$ taxat M Vario Timomachi aeque laudantur Orestes, Iphigenia in Tauris et Lecythion, agitatis exercitatoe, cognatio nobilium, palliat, quos dicturos pinxit, alterum stantem, alterum sedentem praecipue tamen aīs ei favissc in Gorgone visa est
- 137 Pausiae filius et discipulus Aristolaus^a e severissimis pictoribus fuit, cuius sunt Epaminondas, Pericles, Media, Virtus, Theseus, imago Atticae plebis, boum immolatio sunt quibus et Nicophanes, eiusdem Pausiae discipulus, placeat diligentia, quam intellegant soli artifices, alias durus in coloribus et sile multus nam Socrates nre omnibus placet, tales sunt eius cum Aesculapio filiae Hygia, Aegle,^b Panacea, Iaso,^c et piger, qui appellatur Ocnos, spartum torquens, quod asellus adredit
- 138 Hactenus indicatis proceribus in utroque genere non silebuntur et primis proximi Aristocles, qui^d pinxit aedem Apollinis Delphis Antiphilus puero ignem conflante laudatur ac pulchra alias domo^e

¹ VI Hardouin vi M B xvi r^{ell}

² Hygia, Aegle edd vett thygiale B hygiagle r^{ell}

³ Panacea, Iaso Hermolaus Barbarus panaca iasus B p lacus cd Par Lat 6797 penaca lacus aut locus r^{ell}

⁴ qui delendum coni Mayhoff

⁵ laudatur e pictura atra foculo coni Mayhoff

^a Copies of this picture exist

^b Probably a mask of Medusa

^c Hence a Latin proverb *ocnos spartum torquens*, 'sloth twisting a rope' I e 'Labour in vain'

^d Both large and small pictures

held the same view Timomachus of Byzantium in the period of Caesar's dictatorship^a painted an Ajax and a Medea, placed by Caesar in the temple of Venus Genetrix, having been bought at the price of 80 talents (Maicus Vairo rates the Attic talent at 6000 denarii) Equal praise is given to Timomachus's Orestes, his Iphigenia among the Tauri and his Gymnastic-Master Lecythion, also his Noble Family and his Two Men wearing the Pallium, whom he has represented as about to converse, one is a standing figure and the other seated It is in his painting of a Gorgon^b however that his art seems to have given him most success

Pausias's son and pupil Aristolaus was one of the *Aristolaus* painters of the very severe style, to him belong an Epaminondas, a Pericles, a Medea, a Virtue, a Theseus, a figure representing the Athenian People, and a Sacrifice of Oxen Some persons also admire Nicophanes, who was likewise a pupil of Pausias, *Nicophanes* for his careful accuracy which only artists can appreciate, though apart from that he is hard in his colouring and lavish in his use of ochre As for Socrates he is justly a universal favourite, popular pictures by him are his group of Asclepius with his daughters Health, Brightness, All-Heal and Remedy, and his Sluggard, bearing the Greek name of Ocnos, Laziness, and represented as twisting a rope of broom which an ass is nibbling^c

Having so far pointed out the chief painters in both branches,^d we will also mention those of the rank next to the first Aristocles who decorated the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, Antiphilus who is praised for his Boy Blowing a Fire, and for the apartment, beautiful in itself, lit by the reflection *Aristocles and others*

splendescente ipsiusque pueri oie, item lanificio,
in quo properant omnium mulierum pensa, Ptolemaeo venante, sed nobilissimo Satyro cum pelle
pantheina, quem aroscopeuonta appellant, Aristophon Ancaeo¹ vulnerato² ab apio cum socia doloris
Astypalea³ numerosaque tabula, in qua sunt Piiamus,
Helena, Credulitas, Ulixes, Deiphobus, Dolus⁴

139 Andriobius pinxit Scyllum ancoras praecedentem
Peisicæ classis, Aitemon Danaen mutantibus eam
praedonibus, reginam Stratonice⁵ Herculem et
Deianiam, nobilissimas autem, quae sunt in Octaviae operibus, Herculem ab Oeta monte Doridos
exusta mortalitate consensu deorum in caelum
euntem, Laomedontis circa Herculem et Neptunum historiam, Alcimachus Dionippum, qui
pancratio Olympiae citra pulveris⁵ iactum, quod
vocant ἀκονιτί, vicit, Coenus stemmata

140 Ctesilochus, Apellis discipulus, petulanti pictura
innovuit, Iove Libeum parturiente depicto matrato
et muliebriter ingemescente inter obstetricia dearum,
Cleon Cadmo, Ctesidemus Oechaliae expugnatione,
Laodamia, Ctesicles⁶ reginae Stratonices iniuria
nullo enim honore exceptus ab ea pinxit volu-

¹ Ancaeo Gelen Ancaeum Detlefson ancaiu B¹ angaiu
B² anchalū rell

² vulnerato edd vett muineratomo B vulneratū rell

³ Astypalaea Brunn ⁴ Dolon Caesarius

⁵ pulveris edd vett pueris

⁶ Ctesicles Ian etesides B clesides rell

^a Αποσκοπεύων, shading his eyes with his hand (Athenaeus, XIV, 629 f.) The gesture is a common one in satyrs on vases

^b At Artemisium, 480 B C

^c Probably S who was wife of Seleucus I Nicator, King of Nearer Asia 312-281 B C

^d Heracles saved Hesione from a monster sent by Posidon

from the fire and the light thrown on the boy's face, and likewise for his Spinning-room, in which all the women are busily plying their tasks, and his Ptolemy Hunting, but, most famous of all, his Satyr with Leopard's Skin, called in Greek the Man Shading his Eyes^a Aristophon did an Ancaeus Wounded by the Boar, with Astypale sharing his grief, and a picture crowded with figures, among them Piham, Helen, Credulity, Odysseus, Deiphobus, Craft Androbius painted a Scyllus Cutting the Anchropes of the Persian Fleet,^b Artemon a Danae admired by the Robbers, a Queen Statonice,^c and a Heracles and Deianira, but the finest of all his works, now in Octavia's Buildings, are his Heracles Ascending to Heaven with the consent of the Gods after his mortal remains were burnt on Mount Oeta in Dois, and the story of Laomedon in the matter of Heracles and Posidon.^d Alcimachus painted Diocippus, who won the All-round Bout at Olympia 'without raising any dust,'^e *akoniti* as the Greek word is Coenus painted pedigrees

Ctesilochus a pupil of Apelles became famous for a saucy burlesque painting which showed Zeus in labour^f with Dionysus, wearing a woman's nightcap and crying like a woman, while goddesses act as midwives, Cleon for his Cadmus, Ctesidemus for his Storming of Oechalia^g and his Laodamia Ctesicles won notoriety by the insult he offered to Queen Statonice,^h because as she did not give him an honourable reception he painted a picture of her

to ravage the land of Troy after Hesione's father King Laomedon broke a promise

^a I.e. without any difficulty

^b Dionysus was born from Zeus' thigh

^c By Heracles ^d See note c

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

tantem cum piscatore, quem reginam amare sermo
erat, eamque tabulam in portu Ephesi proposuit,
ipse velis raptus regina tolli vetuit, utiusque
similitudine mae expressa Cratinus comoedos¹
Athenis in pompeo² pinxit, Eutychides³ bigam

141 regit⁴ Victoria Eudorus scaena spectatur—idem
et ex aere signa fecit—, Hippys⁵ Neptuno et
Victoria Habron Amicitiam⁶ et Concordiam pinxit
et deorum simulacia, Leontiscus Aiatum victorem
cum tropaeo, psaltriam, Leon Sappho, Neaichus
Venerem inter Gratias et Cupidines, Heiculem

142 tristem insaniae paenitentia, Nealces Venerem,
ingeniosus et sollers, ⁷ me siquidem, cum proe-
hum navale Persarum et Aegyptiorum pinxisset,
quod in Nilo cuius est aqua maiis similis⁸ factum
volebat intellegi, arguento declaravit quod sita

143 non poterat asellum enim bibentem in litorie
pinxit et crocodilum insidiantem ~~ei~~, Oenias
syngenicon, Philiscus officinam pictoris ignem^a con-
flante puer, Phalerion Scyllam, Simonides Agathar-
chum et Mnemosynen, Simus iuvenem requiescen-

¹ comoedos *Caesarius comoedus*

² pompeo *Gelen pompeo*

³ Eutychides *Hermolaus Barbarus eutychidis cd Flor Ricc*
ut videtur euthycides B euclides cd Par 6801

⁴ regis *cd Par 6801 regis cum Gelen quam regit quid apud Dalecamp Eutychides biga quam regit Victoria, Eudorus scaena spectatur coni Mayhoff*

⁵ Hippys *Keil Hippias Hardouin Iphis edd vett hyppis cl Par Lat 6797 hyppus B hypis rell*

⁶ Amicitiam *edd vett amicam*

⁷ lac *Mayhoff*

⁸ cuius similis delenda esse putant Urlichs, *Mayhoff*

^a At the city gates, from it solemn processions started

^b I e apparently the river is so extensive that in the picture it might be mistaken for the sea

romping with a fisherman with whom gossip said she was in love, and put it on exhibition at Ephesus Harbour, himself making a hurried escape on shipboard. The Queen would not allow the picture to be removed, the likeness of the two figures being admirably expressed. Cratinus painted the Comic Actors in the Processional Building^a at Athens, Eutychides a Chariot and Pan driven by Victory. Eudorus is famous for a scene-painting—he also made bronze statues—and Hippys for his Posidon and his Victory. Habron painted a Friendship and a Harmony and figures of gods, Leontiscus an Ariatus with the Trophies of Victory, and a Harpist Girl, Leon a Sappho, Nearchus Aphrodite among the Graces and the Cupids, and a Heracles in Sorrow Repenting his Madness, Nealces an Aphrodite. This Nealces was a talented and clever artist, inasmuch as when he painted a picture of a naval battle between the Persians and the Egyptians, which he desired to be understood as taking place on the river Nile, the water of which resembles^b the sea, he suggested by inference what could not be shown by art—he painted an ass standing on the shore drinking, and a crocodile lying in wait for it^c. Oenias has done a Family Group, Philiscus a Painter's Studio with a boy blowing the fire, Phalerion a Scylla, Simonides an Agatharchus and a Mnemosyne, Simus a Young Man Reposing, a Fuller's Shop.

^a But it is certain that the picture referred to a battle in the Persian Artaxerxes III Ochus' conquest of Egypt in 350 B.C. The Egyptians called him 'Ass' (with allusion to the ass shaped Seth Typhon who represented the wicked foe), and the likeness of ὄνος (ass) to Ὥχος (Ochus) became a joke amongst Greeks who fought on both sides.

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

tem, officinam fullonis quinquatus celebrantem,
 144 idemque Nemesim egregiam, Theorus¹ se inungentem,² idem ab Oeste matrem et Aegisthum
 interfici, bellumque Ilacum pluibus tabulis, quod
 est Romae in Philippi porticibus, et Cassandiam,
 quae est in Concoitiae delubro, Leontium Epicuri
 cogitantem, Demetrium regem, Theon Oestis
 insaniam, Thamyram cithaerodium, Tauiscus disco-
 bolum, Clytaemestram, Paniscon, Polynicen regnum
 repetentem et Capanea

145 Non omittetur inter hos insigne exemplum
 namque Erigonus, tritoi colorum Nealcae pictoris,
 in tantum ipse profecit, ut celebrem etiam discipulum reliquerit Pasiam, fratrem Aeginetae pictoris³ illud vero perquam rauum ac memoria dignum est, suprema opera artificum imperfectasque
 tabulas, sicut Irim Aristidis, Tyndaridas Nicomachi
 Medium Timomachi et quam diximus Venerem
 Apellis, in maiore admiratione esse quam perfecta,
 quippe in us huiusmenta reliqua ipsaeque cogitationes
 artificum spectantur, atque in lenocinio commendationis dolor est manus, cum id ageret, exstinctae

146 Sunt etiamnum non ignobiles quidem in trans-
 cursu tamen dicendi Aristocydes, Anaxander, Aristobulus
 Syrus, Arcesilas⁴ Tisicratis filius, Coroebus⁵

¹ *V l* Theodorus

² se inungentem *Sillig, Ian* emungentem *B* et inungen-
 tem *aut et mungentem rell*

³ pictoris *Detlefsen* pictores *B* fictoris *aut factores rell*

⁴ Arcesilaus *cd Par 6801* arcesillas *B*

⁵ Coroebus *Keil* Corybas *edd vett* corbios *aut corbius*
aut cordius

^a Celebrated for five days, March 19th-23rd, by persons
 whose trades were under Minerva's patronage. The original
 doubtless depicted some festival of Athene

Celebrating the Quinquatrus,^a and also a Nemesis of great merit, Theorus a Man Anointing Himself, and also Orestes killing his Mother and Aegisthus, and the Trojan War in a series of pictures now in Philippus' Porticoes at Rome and a Cassandria, in the Shrine of Concord, a Leontion Epicurus's mistress in Contemplation, a King Demetrius, Theon a Madness of Orestes, a Thamyras the Harpe, Tauiscus a Man throwing a Quoit a Clytaemnestra, a Young Pan, & Polynices Claiming the Sovereignty,^b and a Capaneus

Among these artists the following remarkable case is not to be left out, the man who ground the colours for the painter Nealces, Euagonus, attained such proficiency on his own account that he actually left behind him a famous pupil, Pasias, the brother of the painter Aeginetas. It is also a very unusual and memorable fact that the last works of artists and, then unfinished pictures such as the Iris of Aristides,^c the Tyndarus' Children^d of Nicomachus, the Medea of Timomachus and the Aphrodite of Apelles which we have mentioned, are more admired § 92 than those which they finished, because in them are seen the preliminary drawings left visible and the artists' actual thoughts, and in the midst of approval's beguilement we feel regret that the artist's hand while engaged in the work was removed by death.

There are still some artists who are not undistinguished but who only need be mentioned in passing—Aristocrides, Anaxander, Aristobulus of Syria, Agesilaus son of Tisocrates, Coroebus the pupil of

^b Of Thebes, against his brother Eteocles

^c See §§ 75, 98, 108, 111

^d These were Castor, Polydeuces (Pollux), Helen, and Clytaemnestra

Nicomachi discipulus, Chamantides¹ Euphianoris,
 Dionysodorus² Colophonius, Dicaeogenes,³ qui cum
 Demetrio rege vixit, Euthymides,⁴ Herachdes Ma-
 cedo, Milon Soleus,⁵ Pyromachi⁶ statuarii discipuli,
 Mnasitheus⁷ Sicyonius, Mnasitimus Aristonidae
 filius et discipulus, Nessus Habronis filius, Po-
 lemon Alexandrinus, Theodorus Samius et Stadius⁸
 Nicosthenis discipuli, Xenon, Neocles discipulus,
 Sicyonius

- 147 Pinxit et mulieres Timarete, Miconis filia,
 Dianam, quae in tabula Ephesi est antiquissimae⁹
 picturæ, Iene, Ciatini pictoris filia et discipula
 puellam, quae est Eleusine, Calypso, senem et
 praestigiatorem Theodorum, Alcisthenen saltatorem,
 Aristarete, Neaichi filia et discipula, Aesculapium
 Iaia¹⁰ Cyzicena, perpetua virgo, M. Varionis iuventa¹¹
 Romae et penicillo pinxit et cestro in eboe imagines
 mulherum maxime et Neapoli anum in grandi tabula,
 148 suam quoque imaginem ad speculum¹² nec ullius
 velocior in pictura manus fuit, artis vero tantum, ut
 multum maniperitus antecederet celeberrimos eadem
 aetate imaginum pictores Sopolim et Dionysium,
 quorum tabulae pinacothecas inplet pinxit et

¹ Charmantides *Keil* charmanides *B* carmanides *rell*

² Dionysodorus *Keil* dionysiodorus

³ Dicaeogenes *Keil* dicaeogenes (diogenes *cd Par* 6801)

⁴ euthymides *cd Par Lat* 6797, *ut videtur* euthymedes

cd Par 6801 eutymides *B*

⁵ Soleus *Gelen* solaeuus *B* solus *rell*

⁶ Philomachi *edd vett* ⁷ Mnesitheus *Hardouin*

⁸ stadius *cd Flor Ricc* statius *cd Lera Loss* stadios
rell Tadius *edd vett*

⁹ antiquissimae *B* in antiquissimis *rell*

¹⁰ iaia *B* lala *rell* Laia *Schneidewin* Maia *Frohner*

¹¹ inventa *Rochette*

Nicomachus, Chairmantides, the pupil of Euphranor, Dionysodorus of Colophon, Dicaeogenes resident at the court of King Demetrius,^a Euthymides, the Macedonian Heracles and Milon of Soli, pupils of Pyromachus, the sculptor of the human figure, Mnasitheus of Sicyon, Mnasitimus the son and pupil of Aristonides, Nessus son of Habron, Polemo of Alexandria, Theodorus of Samos and Stadius, both pupils of Nicosthenes, Xenon of Sicyon, pupil of Neocles.

There have also been women artists—Timarete the <sup>Women
artists</sup> daughter of Micon who painted the extremely archaic panel picture of Artemis at Ephesus, Irene daughter and pupil of the painter Cratinus who did the Maiden at Eleusis, a Calypso,^b an Old Man and Theodorus the Juggler, and painted also Alcisthenes the Dancer, Aristarete the daughter and pupil of Nearchus, who painted an Asclepius. When Marcus Varro was a young man, Iaia of Cyzicus, who never married, painted pictures with the brush at Rome (and also drew with the *cestrum* or graver^c on ivory), chiefly portraits of women, as well as a large picture on wood of an Old Woman at Naples, and also a portrait of herself, done with a looking-glass. No one else had a quicker hand in painting, while her artistic skill was such that in the prices she obtained she far outdid the most celebrated portrait painters of the same period, Sopolis and Dionysius, whose pictures fill the galleries. A certain Olympias also painted, the

^b Or, if Calypso is the name of a woman artist, ‘Eleusis, Calypso, who painted an Old Man’

^c The *cestrum* was, it seems, a graver, spoon shaped at one end (for holding colours over heat), and with the handle end thickened or flattened out for levelling the colours

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quaedam Olympias, de qua hoc solum memoratu, discipulum eius fuisse Autobulum

149 XLI Encausto pingendi duo fuere antiquitus genera, cera et in ebore cestio, id est vericulo,¹ donec classes pingi coepere hoc tertium accessit resolutis igni ceris penicillo utendi, quae pictura navibus nec sole nec sale ventisve corruptiu

150 XLII Pingunt et vestes in Aegypto, inter pauca mirabili genera, candida vela, postquam attrivere, inlinentes non coloribus, sed colorem soibentibus medicamentis hoc cum fecere, non appetet in velis, sed in cortinam pigmenti ferventis mersa post momentum extrahuntur picta minusque, cum sit unus in cortina colos, ex illo alius atque alius fit in veste accipientis medicamenti qualitate mutatus, nec postea ablui potest ita cortina, non dubie confusura colores, si pictos acciperet, digeant ex uno pingitque, dum coquit, et adustae eae vestes firmiores usibus fiunt quam si non urentur

151 XLIII De pictura satis superque conteuisse his et plasticen conveniat eiusdem opeie² teriae fingere ex argilla similitudines Butades Sicyonius

¹ vericulo *Silling* viriculo *Verba* id est vericulo fortasse delenda

² operae *B*, cd *Leid* *Voss* m 2 opere rell operis con Mayhoff

^a These words look like a gloss Pliny has already mentioned the *cestrum* in § 147 The two kinds of encaustic painting here mentioned are with wax and graver on wood, and with wax and graver on ivory

^b Far back though it is, Pliny seems to refer to § 1 of this book But the right reading is not certain

only fact recorded about her is that Autobulus was her pupil

XLI In early days there were two kinds of *Encaustic* encaustic painting, with wax and on ivory with a graver or *cestrum* (that is a small pointed graver^a), but later the practice came in of decorating battleships This added a third method, that of employing a brush, when wax has been melted by fire, this process of painting ships is not spoilt by the action of the sun nor by salt water or winds

XLII In Egypt they also colour cloth by an *Egyptian dyeing* exceptionally remarkable kind of process They first thoroughly rub white fabrics and then smear them not with colours but with chemicals that absorb colour When this has been done, the fabrics show no sign of the treatment, but after being plunged into a cauldron of boiling dye they are drawn out a moment later dyed And the remarkable thing is that although the cauldron contains only one colour, it produces a series of different colours in the fabric, the hue changing with the quality of the chemical employed, and it cannot afterwards be washed out Thus the cauldron which, if dyed fabrics were put into it, would undoubtedly blend the colours together, produces several colours out of one, and dyes the material in the process of being boiled, and the dress fabrics when submitted to heat become stronger for wear than they would be if not so heated

XLIII Enough and more than enough has now *Plastic art*
been said about painting It may be suitable to *Early stages*
append to these remarks something about the *Butades and others* plastic art It was through the service of that same earth^b that modelling portraits from clay was

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figulus primus invenit Corinthi filiae opera, quae capta amore iuvenis, abeunte illo periegere, umbram ex facie eius ad lucernam in pauci eis linea circumscriptis, quibus pater eius impressa aigilla typum fecit et cum ceteris fictilibus induratum igni proposuit, eumque servatum in Nymphaeo, donec

152 Mummius Corinthum everterit, triadunt sunt qui in Samo primos omnium plasticen invenisse Rhoecum et Theodorum tradant multo ante Bacchiadas Corintho pulsos, Damaiatum vero ex eadem urbe profugum, qui in Etruria Tarquinium regem populi Romani genuit, comitatos factores Euchira, Diopum, Eugrammum, ab us Italiae traditam plasticen Butadis inventum est rubricam addere aut ex iubra creta fingere, primusque personas tegularum extremitatis imbricibus inposuit, quae inter initia prostypa vocavit, postea idem ectypa fecit ~~hic~~^a et fastigia templorum orta propter hunc plastae appellati

153 XLIV Hominis autem imaginem gypso e facie ipsa primus omnium expressit ceraque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit Lysistratus Sicyonius, frater Lysippi, de quo diximus hic et similitudines¹ ieddeie instituit, ante eum quam

¹ similitudines *Silling* similitudini *coni* *Mayhoff* similitudinis *B* similitudinem *zell*

^a Traditionally they invented the art of casting bronze, not of making casts in clay

^b Of these fictitious names *Eucheir* means 'skilful handed' and *Eugrammus* 'skilled drawer'. *Diopus* would be connected with *διοπτρα*, an instrument for taking levels

^c In low relief

^d In high relief

first invented by Butades, a potter of Sicyon, at Corinth. He did this owing to his daughter, who was in love with a young man, and she, when he was going abroad, drew in outline on the wall the shadow of his face thrown by a lamp. Her father pressed clay on this and made a relief, which he hardened by exposure to fire with the rest of his pottery, and it is said that this likeness was preserved in the Shrine of the Nymphs until the destruction of Corinth by 146 B.C. Mummius. Some authorities state that the plastic art was first invented by Rhoecus and Theodorus^a at Samos, long before the expulsion of the Bacchidae 581-580 B.C. from Corinth, but that when Damaiatus, who in Etruria became the father of Tarquin king of the trad. 616-578 B.C. Roman people, was banished from the same city, he was accompanied by the modellers Euchir, Diopus and Eucrammus,^b and they introduced modelling to Italy. The method of adding red earth to the material or else modelling out of red chalk, was an invention of Butades, and he first placed masks as fronts to the outer gutter-tiles on roofs, these at the first stage he called *prostypa*,^c but afterwards he likewise made *ectypa*.^d It was from these that the ornaments on the pediments of temples originated. Because of Butades' modellers get their Greek name of *plastae*.

XLIV The first person who modelled a likeness in plaster of a human being from the living face itself, and established the method of pouring wax into this plaster mould and then making final corrections on the wax cast, was Lysistratus of Sicyon, *Lysistratus* the brother of Lysippus of whom we have spoken *XXXIV, 61*. Indeed he introduced the practice of giving likenesses, the object aimed at previously having been to

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pulcherrimas facie studabant idem et de signis effigies exprimere invenit, crevitque res in tantum, ut nulla signa statuae sine argilla fierent quo apparet antiquoem hanc fuisse scientiam quam fundendi aeris

- 154 XLV Plastae laudatissimi fuerunt Damophilus et Gorgasus, idem pictores, qui Cereris aedem Romae ad cunctum maximum utique geneie artis suae excoluerant, vasis inscriptis Graece, quibus significantur ab dextra opera Damophilus esse, ab laeva¹ Gorgasi ante hanc aedem Tuscanica omnia in aedibus fuisse auctor est Varro, et ex hac, cum reficeretur, crustas parietum excisas tabulis marginatis inclusas esse, item signa ex fastigis dispersa fecit et Chalcosthenes cruda opera Athenis, qui locus ab officina eius Ceramicos appellatur. M Varro tradit sibi cognitum Romae Possim nomine, a quo facta poma et uvas ut non posses² aspectu discernere a veris³ idem magnificat Acesilauum, L Luculli familiarem, cuius proplasmata⁴ plures venie solita artificibus ipsis quam aliorum opera, ab hoc factam Venerem Genetricem in foro Caesaris et, priusquam absolveretur, festinatione

¹ ub laeva Gronov a parte laeva cd Par 6801 ab imia B aplane aut aplone rell

² ut non posses Hardouin (u n possis Gronov) nemo posset Mayhoff non possis Ian ita ut non sit Gelen alitem nescisse Traube item pisces B item piscis rell (possit cd Par Lat 6797) item pisces quos cd Poll

³ veris vix posses cd Poll

⁴ proplasmata Gelen propriasmata B proplastiken edd vett plastica cd Par 6801 pleurosamta rell

^a Dedicated in 493 B C

^b See XXXIV, 34

^c It was restored (after the fire of 31 B C) by Augustus in 27 B C ^d Or Cœcosthenes (= Καικοσθενης) cf XXXIV 87

make as handsome a face as possible. The same artist also invented taking casts from statues, and this method advanced to such an extent that no figures or statues were made without a clay model. This shows that the knowledge of modelling in clay was older than that of casting bronze.

XLV Most highly praised modellers were Damophilus and Gorgasus, who were also painters, <sup>Damophilus
Gorgasus
and others</sup> they had decorated the Shrine ^a of Ceres in the Circus Maximus at Rome with both kinds of their art, and there is an inscription on the building in Greek verse in which they indicated that the decorations on the right hand side were the work of Damophilus and those on the left were by Gorgasus. Vario states that before this shrine was built everything in the temples was Tuscanic work ^b, and that when this shrine was undergoing restoration, ^c the embossed work of the walls was cut out and enclosed in framed panels, and that the figures also were taken from the pediment and dispersed. Chalcosthenes ^d also executed at Athens some works in unbaked clay, at the place named the Ceramicus, Potters Quarter, after his workshop. Marcus Varro records that he knew at Rome an artist named Possis who made fruit and grapes in such a way that nobody could tell by sight from the real things. Vario also speaks very highly of Arcesilaus, who was on terms of intimacy with Lucius Lucullus, and says that his sketch-models of clay used to sell for more, among artists themselves, than the finished works of others, and that this artist made the statue of Venus Genetrix in Caesar's Forum and that it was erected before it was finished as there was a great haste to dedicate it, and that the same artist had

^a Arcesilaus
^b c 110-56
^c B.C.

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dedicancū positam, eidem a Lucullo ^{hs} [x]¹ signum
 Felicitatis locatum, cui mois utriusque invidenter,
 Octavio equiti Romano cratera facere volenti ex-
 emplar e gypso factum talento laudat et Pasitelen,
 qui plasticen matrem caelatura et statuariae
 scalpturaeque² dixit et, cum esset in omnibus iis
 summus, nihil umquam fecit ante quam finxit
 157 piaeterea elaboratam hanc artem Italae et maxime
 Etruriae, Vulcam³ Veis accitum, cu^t locaret Tai-
 quinius Priscus Iovis effigiem in Capitolio dicandam,
 fictilem eum fuisse et ideo miniam solitum, fictiles
 in fastigio templi eius quadrigas, de quibus supra⁴
 diximus, ab hoc eodem factum Herculem, qui
 hodieque materiae nomen in urbe retinet hae
 enim tum effigies deorum erant lautissimae, nec
 paenitet nos illorum, qui tales eos coluerent, aurum
 enim et argentum ne diis quidem conficiebant
 158 XLVI durant etiam nunc plerisque in locis talia
 simulacra, fastigia quidem templorum etiam in
 urbe crebra et municipis, minia caelatura et aite
 suique firmitate, sanctiora auro, certe innocentiora
 in sacris quidem etiam inter has opes hodie non

¹ [x] Detlefsen LX Siliq. Ixi B LX rell² scalpturae B¹ sculpturae B² scalturae rell³ uulcam B¹ uulcani B² uulgam rell (turianum cd Par
6801) Volcaniam coni Ian⁴ supra coni Ian saepe

^o Since Arcesilaus was still doing work for Caesar in 46 B.C., it may well be that the Lucullus here mentioned is the one who was killed at Philippi in 42 B.C.

^b The Hercules Fictilis, 'Hercules in Clay'

contracted with Lucullus to make a statue of Happiness for 1,000,000 sesterces, which was prevented by the death of both parties ^a, and that when a Knight of Rome Octavius desired him to make a wine-bowl he made him a model in plaster for the price of a talent He also praises Pasiteles, who said that *Pasiteles* modelling was the mother of chasing and of bronze statuary and sculpture, and who, although he was eminent in all these arts, never made anything before he had made a clay model He also states that this art had already been brought to perfection by Italy and especially by Etruria, that Vulca was summoned from Veii to receive the contract from Tarquinius Priscus for a statue of Jupiter to be <sup>trad. 616
578 B.C.</sup> consecrated in the Capitol, and that this Jupiter was made of clay and consequently was regularly painted with cinnabar, and that the four-horse <sup>VIII, 161
XXVIII, 16</sup> chariots about which we spoke above on the pediment of the temple were modelled in clay, and that the figure of Hercules, which even to-day retains in the city the name ^b of the material it is made of, was the work of the same artist For these were the most splendid images of gods at that time, and we are not ashamed of those ancestors of ours for worshipping them in that material For they used not formerly to work up silver and gold even for gods XLVI Statues of this kind are still to be found at various places In fact even at Rome and in the Municipal Towns there are many pediments of temples, remarkable for their carving and artistic merit and intrinsic durability, more deserving of respect than gold, and certainly less baneful At the present day indeed, even in the midst of our present rich resources the preliminary libation is

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muīrnis crystallinisve, sed fictilibus prohibatur
 simpulis,¹ inenarrabili Tēiae benignitate, si quis
 singula aestimet, etiam ut omittantur in frugum,
 159 vini, pomorum, herbarium et fruticum, medicamen-
 torium, metallorum generibus beneficia eius, quae²
 adhuc diximus neque³ adsiduitate satiant figli-
 narum opera, dolis ad vina excoxitatis, ad aquas
 tubulis,⁴ ad balineas mammatis,⁵ ad tecta imbricibus,⁶
 coctilibus lateculis ad parietes fundamen-
 taque,⁷ aut quae⁸ iota fiunt, propt̄ quae⁹ Numa
 160 rex septimum collegium figulorum instituit quin
 et defunctos sese multi fictilibus solis condit malueret,
 sicut M Vairo, Pythagorio modo in myrti et oleae
 atque populi nigri foliis maiori pars hominum
 terrensis utitur vasis Samia etiam nunc in escu-
 lentis laudantur retinet hanc nobilitatem et
 Arretium in Italia et calicum tantum Surrentum,
 Hasta, Pollentia, in Hispania Saguntum, in Asia
 161 Pergamum habent et Tiallis ibi opera sua Et in
 Italia Mutina, quoniam et sic gentes nobilitantur
 et haec quoque per maiora, terras ultio citio por-
 tantur, insignibus iotae officinis¹⁰ Eiythrīs in templo
 hodieque ostenduntur amphoiae duae propter tenui-
 tatem consecratae discipuli magistri que certamine,

¹ simpulis *edl* *vell* sin puls *B*¹ simpulsa *B-* simpunus
cd *Par* 6801 simpulis *rell*

² *Vll* quaeque, que quae quaeque *Detlefsen*

³ neque *Mayhoff* vel quae *B* vel *rell*

⁴ *l l* tabulis

⁵ hamatis *Hermolaus Barbarus*

⁶ imbricibus *hic Mayhoff supra post opera*
 ad parietes fundamentaque *coni Mayhoff* (ad fundimenta
Detlefsen) fundimentisque

⁸ ob quae *Hardouin* quae aut *Detlefsen*

⁹ roti fiunt propter quae *B* om *rell* In § 159 alia
templanti edl ¹⁰ officius *coni Rachham*

made at sacrifices not from fluor-spar or crystal vessels but with small ladles of earthenware, thanks to the ineffable kindness of Mother Earth, if one considers her gifts in detail, even though we omit her blessings in the various kinds of coin, wine, fruit, herbs and shrubs, drugs and metals, all the things that we have so far mentioned. Nor do our *Pottery* products even in pottery satisfy our needs with their unfailing supply, with jars invented for our wine, and pipes for water, conduits for baths, tiles for our roofs, baked bricks for our house-walls and foundations, or things that are made on a wheel, because of which King Numa established a seventh Guild, the ^{trad.} ^{719-672 BC}

Potters^a. Indeed moreover many people have preferred to be buried in earthenware coffins, for instance Marcus Varro who was interred in the Pythagorean style, in leaves of myrtle, olive and ^{26 BC} black poplar, the majority of mankind employs earthenware receptacles for this purpose. Among table services Samian pottery is still spoken highly of, this reputation is also retained by Arezzo in Italy, and, merely for cups, by Sorrento, Asti, and Pollenza, and by Saguntum in Spain and Perigamum in Asia Minor. Also Tralles in Asia Minor and Modena in Italy have their respective products, since even this brings nations fame, and their products also, so distinguished are the workshops of the potter's wheel, are carried to and from across land and sea. In a temple at Erythrae even to-day are on view two wine-jars which were dedicated on account of their fine material, owing to a competition between a master potter and his apprentice as to which

^a The text of part of § 159 is very uncertain

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uter tenuorem humum, duceret Cois ea laus¹
 maxima, Hadrianis firmitas, nonnullis circa hoc
 162 severitatis quoque exemplis Q Coponium in-
 venimus ambitus damnatum, quia vini amphoram
 dedisset dono ei, cui suffagi latio erat atque ut
 e luxu² quoque aliqua contingat auctoritas figlinis
 tripatinum, inquit Fenestella, appellabatur summa
 cenarum lautitia, una erat munerarium, altera
 lupoium, tertia mixti piscis, inclinatis iam scilicet
 moribus, ut tamen eos praeferre Graeciae etiam
 philosophis possimus, siquidem in Aristotelis heri-
 dum auctione septuaginta patinas venisse traditur
 163 nos cum unam Aesopi tragodiarum histrionis in
 natura avium diceremus hs \bar{c} ³ stetisse, non dubito
 indignatos legentes at, Hercules, Vitellius in
 principatu suo \bar{x} ⁴ hs condidit patinam, cui facies dae
 fornax in campis exaedificata erat, quoniam eo
 pervenit luxuria, ut etiam fictilia pluris constent
 164 quam murrina proptei hanc Mucianus altero con-
 sulatu suo in conquestione exprobavit patinarum
 paludes Vitelli memoriae, non illa foediore, cuius
 veneno Asprenati reo Cassius Severus accusator
 165 obiciebat interisse convivas cxxx nobilitantur his
 quoque oppida, ut Regium et Cumae Samia testa

¹ ea laus Mayhoff illa laus Urlichs levitas Frohner laus
² e luxu coni Ian fruxu aut fruca aut fruox cdd (fluxu
³ cd Poll)

⁴ \bar{c} cd Leid Voss [c] B c' aut centum aut dc rell

⁴ \bar{x} R \bar{x} aut x rell

would make thinner earthenware. The pottery of Cos is most famous for this, but that of Adria is most substantial, while there are also some instances of severity also in relation to pottery. We find that Quintus Coponius was found guilty of bribery because he made a present of a jar of wine to a person who had the right to a vote. And so that luxury also may contribute some importance to earthenware, the name of a service of three dishes, we are told by Fenestella, used to denote the most luxurious possible banquet. One dish was of lamprey, a second of pike and a third of a mixture of fish. Clearly manners were already on the decline, though nevertheless we can still prefer them even to those of the philosophers of Greece, inasmuch as it is recorded that at the auction held by the heirs of Aristotle ^{322 B.C.} seventy earthenware dishes were sold. We have already stated when on the subject of birds ^{x 141} that a single dish cost the tragic actor Aesop 100,000 sesterces, and I have no doubt that readers felt indignant, but, good heavens, Vitellius when emperor had a dish made that cost 1,000,000 sesterces, ^{A.D. 69} and to make which a special furnace was constructed out in open country, as luxury has reached a point when even earthenware costs more than vessels of fluor-spar. It was owing to this dish that Mucianus in his second consulship, in a protest ^{A.D. 70} which he delivered, reproached the memory of Vitellius for dishes as broad as marshes, although this particular dish was not more disgraceful than the poisoned one by which Cassius Severus when prosecuting Asprenas charged him with having caused the death of 130 guests. Artistic pottery also confers fame on towns, for instance Reggio and Cumae.

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Matris deum sacerdotes, qui Galli vocantur, vnitatem amputatae nec altei citia perniciem, M Caelo credamus, qui linguam sic amputandam obiecit gravi probio, tamquam et ipse iam tunc eidem Vitellio malediceret quid non ex cogitat vita¹ fractis etiam testis utendo, sic ut sumius ducent, tunsis calce addita, quae vocant Signina¹ quo genere etiam pavimenta ex cogitavit

- 166 XLVII Verum et ipsius terrae sunt alia commenta quis enim satis miretur pessumam eius partem ideoque pulvrem appellatam in Puteolanis collibus opponi manus fluctibus, mecumque protinus fieri lapidem unum inexpugnabilem undis et fortitionem cotidie, utique si Cumano misceretur caemento² eadem est terrae natura et in Cyzicena regione, sed ibi non pulvis, verum ipsa terra qua libeat magnitudine excisa et demersa in mare lapidea extrahitur hoc idem circa Cassandream produnt fieri, et in fonte Cnidio dulci intra octo menses terram lapidescere ab Oiopo quidem Aulida usque quidquid attingitur mari terrae mutatur in saxa non multum a pulvere Puteolano

¹ ex cogitat vita *B* ex cogitavit vita *Ian* ex cogitavit urs
^{cd} *Par* 6801 ex cogitavit a *rell*

^a Cybele

^b Volcanic ash or earth, now called *pozzolana*

^c The ancient Potidea in the Chalcidic peninsula

^d Of Boeotia

The priests of the Mother ^a of the Gods called Galli castrate themselves, if we accept the account of Marcus Caelius, with a piece of Samian pottery, the only way of avoiding dangerous results, and Caelius proposed as a penalty for an abominable offence that the guilty person should have his tongue cut out in the same way, just as if he were already himself inveighing against the same Vitellius in anticipation. What is there that experience cannot devise? For it employs even broken crockery, making it more solid and durable by pounding it up and adding what is called Segni lime, a kind of material used in a method which experience has also invented for making pavements.

XLVII But there are other inventions also that belong to Earth herself. For who could sufficiently marvel at the fact that the most inferior portion of the earth's substance, which is in consequence designated dust,^b on the hills of Pozzuoli, encounters the waves of the sea and as soon as it is submerged turns into a single mass of stone that withstands the attacks of the waves and becomes stronger every day, especially if it mixed with broken quarry-stone from Cumae? In the Cyzicus district also the nature of the earth is the same, but there not dust but the earth itself is cut out in blocks of any size wanted and plunged into the sea, and when drawn out, it is of the consistency of stone. The same is said to take place in the neighbourhood of Cassandrea,^c and it is stated that in a fresh water spring at Cnidus earth becomes petrified in less than eight months. On the coast ^d from Oropus to Aulis all the earth that the sea touches is turned into rocks. The finest portion of the sand from the Nile is not very different

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distat e Nilo harenā tenuissima sui parte, non ad
 sustinenda maria fluctusque frangendos, sed ad
 168 debellandū corpora palaestiae studis inde certe
 Patiobio, Neronis principis liberto, advehebatur
 quin et Crateio et Leonnato ac Meleagro, Alexandri
 Magni ducibus, sabulum¹ hoc portari² cum reliquis
 militariibus commerciis reperio, plura de hac parte
 non dictur, non, Hercules, magis quam de teriae
 usu in ceromatis, quibus exercendo suventus nostria
 169 corporis vires perdit animorum XLVIII quid?
 non in Africa Hispaniaque e terra parietes, quos
 appellant formaceos, quoniam in forma circumdati
 II utrumque tabulis inferciuntur verius quam struun-
 tur, aevi durant, incorrupti imbribus, ventis, ignibus
 omnique caemento firmiores? spectat etiam nunc
 speculas Hannibalis Hispania terrenasque tuires
 iugis montium impositas hinc et caespitum natura
 castrorum vallis accommodata contraque fluminum
 impetus aggeribus inclini quidem crates parietum
 luto et ut³ lateibus crudis extiui quis ignorat?

170 XLIX Lateies non sunt ex sabuloso neque
 harenoso multoque minus calculoso ducendi solo, sed
 e cretoso et albicante aut ex iubrica vel etiam e

¹ sabulum *cd Par* 6801, *cd Par Lat* 6797 sabium *B*
 sabulum *rell* solutum *Mayhoff*

² *Vl* portare portavere *J Müller*

³ et ut *Warmington* et

^a Who was in Spain 221-219 b c preparing war against Rome

from the dust of Pozzuoli, not to be used for an embankment against the sea and to act as a breakwater against waves, but for the purpose of subduing men's bodies for the exercises of the wrestling school. At all events it used to be imported from there for Patrobius, a freedman of the emperor Nero, and moreover I also find that this sand was carried with other military commodities for Alexander the Great's generals Crateus, Leonnatus and Meleager, though I shall not say more about this part of the subject any more than, by heaven, I shall mention the use of earth in making ointments, employed by our young men while ruining their vigour of mind by exercising their muscles.

XLVIII Moreover, are there not in Africa and Spain walls made of earth that are called framed walls, because they are made by packing in a frame enclosed between two boards, one on each side, and so are stuffed in rather than built, and do they not last for ages, undamaged by rain, wind and fire, and stronger than any quarry-stone? Spain still sees the watchtowers of Hannibal^a and turrets of earth placed on the mountain ridges. From the same source is also obtained the substantial sods of earth suitable for the fortifications of our camps and for embankments against the violent flooding of rivers. At all events everybody knows that party-walls can be made by coating hurdles with clay, and are thus built up as if with raw bricks.

XLIX Bricks should not be made from a sandy soil or gravelly soil and far less from a stony one, but from a mainly and white soil or else from a red earth, or even with the aid of sand, at all events if coarse male sand is used. The best time for making bricks

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sabulo, masculo certe finguntur optime vere, nam solstitio nimosi fiunt aedificis non nisi bimos probant, quin¹ et intritam ipsam eorum, priusquam fingantur, macerari oportet

- 171 Genera eorum fiunt² tria didoron,³ quo nos⁴ utimur, longum sesquipedem, latum pedem, alterum tetradoron, tertium pentadoron Graeci enim antiqui δῶρον palmum vocabant et ideo δῶρα munera, quia manu darentur, ergo a quattuor et quinque palmis, prout sunt, nominantur eadem est et latitudo minore privatis operibus, maiore in publicis utuntur in Graecia Pitanae in Asia et in ulteriore Hispania civitatibus Maxilua et Callet⁵ fiunt lateres, qui siccati non merguntur in aqua sunt enim e terra pumicosa, cum subigi potest, utilissima
- 172 Graeci, praetequam ubi e silice fieri poterat structura, latericos parietes praetulerent sunt enim aeterni, si ad perpendicularm fiant ideo et publica opera et regias domos sic stuxere murum Athenis, qui ad montem Hymettum spectat, Patris aedes Iovis et Herculis, quamvis lapideas columnas et epistyla circumdarent, domum Trallibus regiam Attali, item Sardibus Croesi, quam gerusian fecere,

¹ quia Mayhoff

² fiunt Mayhoff coll. Vitruv II 3 qui B que rell

³ didoron Hermolaus Barbarus lydion (lidron cd Par 6801)

⁴ nos add. Mayhoff coll. Vitruv volgo J. Müller

⁵ Callet Urlichs, Detlefsen coll. III 12 callent B canlent aut canlento aut calento rell

^a As a measure this could be 4 inches or 9, but here it is 9

^b *Silex* is in particular the strong concrete made by the Romans from a lava mixed with lime and *porzolana* (for which see § 166, note)

^c Attalus I of Pergamum, 241-197 B C

is in spring, as at midsummer they tend to crack. For buildings, only bricks two years old are recommended, moreover the material for them when it has been pounded should be well soaked before they are moulded.

Three kinds of bricks are made—the ‘*didoion*,’ the one employed by us, eighteen inches long and a foot wide, second the ‘*tetradoron*’ and third the ‘*pentadoron*,’ *doron* being an old Greek word meaning the palm of the hand ^a—from which comes *doron*, meaning a gift, because a gift was given by the hand. Consequently the bricks get their names from four or five palms’ length as the case may be. Their breadth is in all cases the same. In Greece the smaller kind is used for private structures and the larger in public buildings. At Pitana in Asia Minor as also in the city states of Mavilua and Callet in Further Spain bricks are made which when dried will not sink in water, being made of pumice-like earth, which is an extremely useful material when it is capable of being worked. The Greeks preferred brick walls except in places permitting of a stone ^b structure, as brick walls last for ever if built exactly perpendicular. Consequently that was how they built both public works and kings’ palaces—the wall at Athens that faces towards Mount Hymettus, at Patrae the Shrines of Zeus and of Heracles (although the columns and architraves with which they surrounded these were of stone), and the royal palace of Attalus ^c at Tralles and likewise the palace of Croesus at Sardis, which they converted into a house of elders, ^d and that of

560-546 B.C.

^a Pliny’s source Vitruvius II 8 10 takes *yepovotia* here as a home for the aged, but it must mean council house

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Halicarnasi Mausoli, quae etiam nunc durant
 173 Lacedaemone quidem latericiis parietibus excisum
 opus tectorum propter excellentiam picturae lignis
 formis inclusum Romam deportavere in aedilitate
 ad comitium exornandum Muena et Vario cum
 opus per se minus esset, tralatum tamen magis
 mirabantur in Italia quoque latericiis minus
 Arieti et Mevniae est Romae non fiunt talia
 aedificia, qui sesquipedalis paries non plus quam
 unam contignationem tolerant, cautumque est, ne
 communis crassior fiat, nec integeriorum ratio
 patitur

174 L Haec sint dicta de lateribus in teriae autem
 reliquis generibus vel maxime mira natura est
 sulphuris, quo pluuma domantur nascitur in insulis
 Aeolis inter Siciliam et Italiam, quas audeamus,
 sed nobilissimum in Melo insula in Italia quoque
 invenitur in Neapolitano Campanoque agro collibus,
 qui vocantur Leucogaei ibi e cuniculis effossum
 175 perficitur igni genera III vivum, quod Glaeci
 apyron vocant, nascitur solidum¹ solum²—cetera³
 enim liquore constant et conficiuntur oleo incocta—,
 vivum effuditur traheturque et viret solo ex
 omnibus generibus medici utuntur⁴ alterum genus
 appellant glaebam, fullonum tantum officinis fa-

¹ solidum hoc est glaeba *cdd del heg Urlichs, Detlefsen*

² solum *del Urlichs, Detlefsen*

³ cetera *cd Leid Voss m 2 ex omnibus generibus (cm B) medici utuntur alterum genus cetera B, cd Leid Voss m 1 cd Flor Ricc vide infra ex omnibus utuntur cetera rell*

⁴ solo utuntur *om cd Pai Lat 6797 cd Pai 6801 cd Tolet*

Mausolus^a at Halicarnassus, buildings still standing
 377-353 B.C.
 Muiena and Vaiio in their aedileship had some
 plaster work on brick walls at Sparta cut away,
 and because of the excellence of its painting had
 it enclosed in wooden frames and brought to Rome
 to decorate the Assembly-place. It was in itself a
 wonderful piece of work, yet its transfer caused even
 more admiration. In Italy also there is a brick wall
 at Arezzo and at Mevania. Structures of this sort
 are not erected in Rome, because an eighteen-inch
 wall will only carry a single storey, and there is a
 regulation forbidding any partition exceeding that
 thickness nor does the system used for party-walls
 permit of it.

L Let this be what we say about bricks. Among *Sulphur*
 the other kinds of earth the one with the most remarkable
 properties is sulphur, which exercises a great
 power over a great many other substances. Sulphur
 occurs in the Aeolian Islands between Sicily and
 Italy, which we have said are volcanic, but the most III 92 ff.
 famous is on the island of Melos. It is also found in
 Italy, in the territory of Naples and Campania, on
 the hills called the Leucogaei. It is there dug out of
 mine-shafts and dressed with fire. There are four
 kinds live sulphur, the Greek name for which
 means 'untouched by fire,' which alone forms as a
 solid mass—for all the other sorts consist of liquid
 and are prepared by boiling in oil, live sulphur is
 dug up, and it is translucent and of a green colour;
 it is the only one of all the kinds that is employed
 by doctors. The second kind is called 'clod-
 sulphur,' and is commonly found only in fullers'

^a The remains of his monument the Mausoleum were brought to England in 1859

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mihare tertio quoque generi unus tantum est usus ad lanas suffiendas,¹ quoniam candorem molitiamque conferit egula vocatu hoc genus, quartum autem² ad ellychnia maxime conficienda, cetero tantum³ vis est ut moibos comitiales depiehendat nido*re* inpositum igni lusit et Anaxilaus eo, addens in calicem vini priuinaque subdita circumferens, exardescens repercussu⁴ pallorem diuum velut 176 defunctorum effundente in⁵ convivis⁶ natura eius excalfacit, concoquit, sed et discutit collectiones corporum, ob hoc talibus⁷ emplastris malagmatisque miscetur ienibus quoque et lumbis in dolore cum adipe miue prodest inpositum aufert et lichenas faciei cum terebinthi resina et lepras, haipax ita vocatur a celeritate piaebendi,⁸ avelli enim subinde 177 debet prodest et suspniosis linctu,⁹ purulenta quoque extussientibus et contra scorpionum ictus vitiligines vivum nitio mixtum atque ex aceto tinctum et inlatum tollit, item lendes, et in palpebris acetato sandaracato admixtum habet et in religionibus locum ad expiandas suffitu domos sentitur vis eius et in aquis ferventibus, neque alia res facilius accen-

¹ suffiendas coll Isid Gelen sufficiendas² autem cd Par 6801 caute rell (cate cd Leid los⁹ aptum Isid) coni καυτηρ Mayhoff³ tanta cd Par 6801 ex Isid tamen vel vis tantum coni Mayhoff⁴ repercussu edd vett ex Isid percussu B supercussu aut se percussu rell⁵ effundente in Mayhoff effundentem B effundente rell⁶ convivis B⁷ albis Frohner⁸ piaebendi B uellendi cd Par 6801 praeuelli rell avellendi edd vett prendendi Ian⁹ linctu Sillig linctum aut linctus aut lictus cdd (unctu B)

workshops The third kind also is only employed for one purpose, for smoking woollens from beneath, as it bestows whiteness and softness, this sort is called egula. The fourth kind is specially used for making lamp-wicks For the rest, sulphur is so potent that when put on the fire it detects epilepsy by its smell Anaxilaus even made a sport with it by putting some in a cup of wine and placing a hot coal underneath and handing it round at dinner-parties, when by its reflection it threw on their faces a dreadful pallor as though they were dead Its property is calorific and concoctive,^a but it also disperses abscesses on the body, and consequently is used as an ingredient in plasters and poultices for such cases It is also remarkably beneficial for the kidneys and loins if in cases of pain it is applied to them with grease In combination with turpentine it also removes lichenous growths on the face and leprosy, so it is called *harpas*,^b owing to the speed with which it has to be applied, which is caused by the need for immediate removal Used as an electuary it is good for cases of asthma, and also purulent expectoration after coughing and as a remedy for the sting of scorpions Live sulphur mixed with soda and pounded in vinegar and used as a liniment removes cutaneous eruptions, and also eggs of lice, and in combination with vinegar mixed with realgar it is useful on the eyelids Sulphur also has a place in religious ceremonies, for the purpose of purifying houses by fumigation Its potency is also perceptible in hot springs of water, and no other substance is more easily ignited,

^a I.e. brings boils, etc., to a head

^b ἄρπαξ ‘rapacious,’ from ἄρπαζω, ‘seize,’ ‘snatch’

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ditui, quo apparet ignium vim magnam ei messe fulmina, fulgura quoque sulpuis odorem habent, ac lux ipsa eorum sulpuea est

178 LI Et bituminis vicina natura est aliubi limus, aliubi terra est, limus e Iudeae lacu, ut diximus, emergens, terra in Syria circa Sidonem oppidum maritimum spissantui haec utriusque et in densitatem coeunt est velo liquidum bitumen, sicut Zacynthium et quod a Babylone n^evehitur, ibi quidem et candidum gignitur liquidum est et Apolloniaticum, quae omnia Graeci pissasphalton

179 appellant ex argumento picis ac bituminis gignitur et pingue oleique liquoris in Sicilia Agiagantino fonte, inficiens rivum incolae id haudinum paniculis colligunt, citissime sic adhaerescens, utunturque eo ad lucernarum lumina olei vice, item ad scabiem iumentorum sunt qui et naphtham, ^a de qua in secundo diximus volume, bituminis generibus adscribant, verum eius ahdens natura et ignium cognata

180 procul ab omni usu abest bituminis probatio ut quam maxime splendeat sitque ponderosum, graveolens,¹ atrum² modice, quoniam adulteratu pice vis quae sulpuis sistit, discutit, contrahit, glutinat serpentes accensum nudore fugat ad suffusiones

¹ graveolens Mayhoff coll. Diosc. grave leve (lene cd. Par. 6801) graveolens, leve Kuhl

² atrum Mayhoff coll. Diosc. autem

^a This occurs as a liquid (petroleum), as a liquid solid (mineral pitch and tar) and as a solid (asphalt)

^b The Dead Sea

showing that it contains a powerful abundance of fire Thunderbolts and lightning also have a smell of sulphur, and their actual light has a sulphurous quality

LI Near to the nature of sulphur is also that of *Bitumen* bitumen^a. In some places it is a slime and others an earth, the slime being emitted, as we have said, v, 72 from the lake^b of Judaea and the earth being found in the neighbourhood of the seaside town of Sidon in Syria. Both of these varieties get thickened and solidify into a dense consistency. But there is also a liquid sort of bitumen, for instance that of Zacynthus and the kind imported from Babylon, at the latter place indeed it also occurs with a white colour. The bitumen from Apollonia also is liquid, and all of these varieties are called by the Greeks *pissaspalt*, from its likeness to vegetable-pitch and bitumen. There is also an unctuous bitumen, of the consistency of oil, found in Sicily, in a spring at Guggenti, the stream from which is tainted by it. The inhabitants collect it on tufts of reeds, as it very quickly adheres to them, and they use it instead of oil for burning in lamps, and also as a cure for scab in beasts of burden. Some authorities also include among the varieties of bitumen naphtha about which we spoke in Book II, but its burning property II, 2^c and liability to ignition is far removed from any practical use. The test of bitumen is that it should be extremely brilliant, and that it should be massive, with an oppressive smell, when quite black, its brilliance is moderate, as it is commonly adulterated with vegetable pitch. Its medical effect is that of sulphur, as it is astringent, dispersive, contractive, and agglutinating. Ignited it drives away snakes

- oculorum et albugines Babylonum efficax traditur, item ad lepias, lichenas primitusque corporum inlinitur et podagris omnia autem eius genera incommodos oculorum pilos replicant, dentium 181 doloribus medentur simul nitro intrito lenit¹ tussim veterem et anhelitus cum vino potum, dysentericis etiam datui eodem modo sistitque alvum cum aceto vero potum discutit concretum sanguinem ac detrahit mitigat lumboium dolores, item articulorum, cum farina hordeacia inpositum emplastrum peculiare facit suo nomine sanguinem sistit, vulnera colligit, glutinat nervos utuntur etiam ad quartanas bituminis diachma et hedyosmi panis 182 pondeire cum muiae obolo subacti comitiales moibos ustum deprendit volvarum strangulationes olfactu discutit cum vino et castoreo, procidentes suffitu reprimit, purgationes feminarum in vino potum elicit in reliquo usu aeramentis inlinatur firmatque ea contra ignes diximus et tingui solitum aes eo statuasque inlini calcis quoque usum praebuit ita feruminatis Babylonis muis placet in ferrii fabiorum officinis tinguendo ferio clavorum capitibus et multis aliis usibus
- 183 LII Nec minor est aut adeo dissimilis aluminis opera, quod intellegitur salsa teriae pluia et

¹ intrito lenit Mayhoff coll. Diosc. inlatum (Silling) lenit Detlefsen inlitus B illatum aut illini aut inlini rell

^a Several astringent substances were included in the word *alumen*, especially, it seems, aluminium sulphates sulphate of iron and common potash alum also kalinite and perhaps also certain halotrichites (K C Bailey, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects*, II, p 233)

by its smell Babylonian bitumen is said to be serviceable for cataract and film in the eye, and also for leprosy lichen and itch It is also used as a liniment for gout, while all varieties of it are used to fold back eyelashes that get in the way of sight, and also to cure toothache, when smeared on with soda Taken as a draught with wine it alleviates an inveterate cough and shortness of breath, and it is also given in the same way in cases of dysentery, and arrests diarrhoea Drunk however with vinegar it dissolves and brings away coagulated blood It reduces pains in the loins and also in the joints, and applied with barley-meal it makes a special kind of plaster that bears its name It stops a flow of blood, closes up wounds, and unites severed muscles It is employed also for quartan fevers, the dose being a dram of bitumen and an equal weight of wild mint pounded up with a sixth of a dram of myrrh Burnt bitumen detects cases of epilepsy, and mixed with wine and beaver-oil its scent dissipates suffocations of the womb, its smoke when applied from beneath relieves prolapsus of the womb, and drunk in wine it hastens menstruation Among other uses of it, it is applied as a coating to copper and bronze vessels to make them fireproof We have stated that it also used to be the practice xxxiv, 1. to employ it for staining copper and bronze and coating statues It has also been used as a substitute for lime, the walls of Babylon being cemented with it In smithies also it is in favour for varnishing iron and the heads of nails and many other uses

LII Not less important or very different is the *alum* use made of alum,^a by which is meant a salt exudation from the earth There are several varieties of

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eius genera in Cypio candidum et nigrus, exigua coloris¹ differentia, cum sit usus magna,² quoniam inficiendis claro colore lanis candidum liquidumque utilissimum est contraque fuscis aut obscuris nigrum

184 et aurum nigro purgatur fit autem omne ex aqua limoque, hoc est terra exudantis natura conservatum hieme aestivis solibus maturatur quod fuit ex eo praecox, candidius fit gignitur autem in Hispania, Aegypto, Armenia, Macedonia, Ponto, Africa, insulis Saïdinia, Melo Lipara, Strongyle, laudatissimum in Aegypto, proximum in Melo huius quoque duae species, liquidum spissumque liquidi probatio ut sit limpidum lacteumque, sine offensis fricandi, cum quodam igniculo coloris³ hoc phorimon⁴ vocant an sit adulteratum, deprehendit suco Punici malii, sinceum enim mixtura ea non nigrescit⁵ ultimum genus est pañidi et scabii et quod inficiatur et⁶ galla, ideoque hoc vocant

¹ coloribusque *B* coloris visusque *coni Mayhoff*

² magna *Gelen magni*

³ caloris *edd vett*

⁴ phorimon *edl vett coll Galen, kata rōtovs, vi 3* porth mon *aut portmon (B) aut pontinon aut postphonon*

⁵ mixtura ea non nigrescit *K C Bailey* mixtura ea nigrescit *cl Flor Ricc ut videtus* mixturam fugit *cd Par 6801* mixtura rell mixtura inficitur *coni Mayhoff*

⁶ et *Mayhoff a B om rell*

^a Sulphate of aluminium would be useful for dyeing, potash alum and alunogen could provide the bright colour, and alums containing metals the sombre colours (*K C Bailey*)

^b Cf XXXIII, 65, also for removing baleful influences of gold held above the head, cf XXXIII, 84

^c Where potash alum is found

it In Cyprus there is a white alum and another sort of a darker colour, though the difference of colour is only slight, nevertheless the use made of them is very different, as the white and liquid kind is most useful for dyeing woollens a bright colour whereas the black kind is best for dark or sombre hues ^a Black alum is also used in cleaning ^b gold All alum is produced from water and slime, that is, a substance exuded by the earth, this collects naturally in a hollow in winter and its maturity by crystallisation is completed by the sunshine of summer, the part of it that separates earliest is whiter in colour It occurs in Spain, Egypt, Armenia, Macedonia, Pontus, Africa, and the islands Sardinia, Melos, Lipari ^c and Stromboli, the most highly valued is in Egypt and the next best in Melos The alum of Melos also is of two kinds, fluid ^d and dense The test of the fluid kind is that it should be of a limpid, milky consistency, free from grit when rubbed between the fingers, and giving a slight glow of colour ^e, this kind is called in Greek 'phorimon' in the sense of 'abundant' Its adulteration can be detected ^f by means of the juice of a pomegranate, as this mixed with it does not turn it black if it is pure The other kind ^g is the pale rough alum which may be stained with oak-gall also, and consequently this is called 'paraphoron,'

^a Apparently the solid kind (potash alum especially) in solution

^b So MSS, *caloris* ('heat') is a change based on what is probably a corruption in the text of Dioscorides

^c That is, an alum supposedly free from iron would, if it contained iron, turn juice of pomegranate black

^d Probably light yellow halotrichite (hydrated iron sulphate with aluminium) and green vitriol (ferrous sulphate)

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- 185 *paraphoion* liquidum aluminis vis adstringere, indurare, iodere melle¹ admixto sanat oris ulcera, papulas pruriuntusque haec curatio fit in balneis ii mellis partibus, tertia aluminis virus alarum sudorisque sedat sumitui pilulis contra henis vicia pellendumque per uirinam sanguinem emendat et scabiem nitro ac melanthio admixtis
- 186 Concreti aluminis unum genus *σχιστὸν* appellant Graeci, in capillamenta quaedam canescentia dehiscens, unde quidam trichitum potius appellaverent hoc fit e lapide, ex quo et aes—chalcitum vocant—, ut² sudor quidam eius lapidis in spumam coagulatus hoc genus aluminis minus siccatur minusque sistit umorem inutilem corporum, et auribus magnopere prodest infusum, vel inlitum et oris ulceribus dentibusque et si³ saliva cum eo contineatur et oculorum medicamentis inseritur apte verendisque utriusque sexus coquitur in catinis,⁴ donec liquatur desinat inertiois est alteum geneis,⁵ quod stronylen vocant duae et eius species, fungosum atque omni umore diluti facile, quod in totum damnatur melius pumicosum et foraminum fistulis spongeae simile rotundumque natura, candido propius, cum quadam pinguitudine, sine harenis, friabile, nec inficiens nigritia hoc coquatur per se carbonibus

¹ melli *B* melli admixtum *coni Mayhoff*

² vocant—, ut *Mayhoff* vocant ut sit *edd vett* vocamus *B* vocatus *cl Leid Lips* vocatur *rell*

³ et si *Mayhoff* et is *B¹* et his *B²* sicd *Par* 6801 et *rell*

⁴ catinis *B* patinis *rell*

^a The following medical uses are like the modern uses of potash alum

^b Including potash alum, halotrichite, etc

^c Both potash alum and aluminium sulphate, if heated, melt, swell and solidify into ‘burnt alum’

perverted' or adulterated alum. Liquid alum^a has an astringent, hardening and corrosive property. Mixed with honey it cures ulcers in the mouth, pimples and eruptions, this treatment is carried out in baths containing two parts of honey to one of alum. It reduces odour from the armpits and perspiration. It is taken in pills against disorders of the spleen and discharge of blood in the urine. Mixed with soda and chamomile it is also a remedy for scabies.

One kind^b of solid alum which is called in Greek schiston, 'splittable,' splits into a sort of filament of a whitish colour, owing to which some people have preferred to give it in Greek the name of trichitis, 'hairy alum.' This is produced from the same ore as copper, known as copperstone, a sort of sweat from that mineral, coagulated into foam. This kind of alum has less drying effect and serves less to arrest the detrimental humours of the body, but it is extremely beneficial as an ear-wash, or as a liniment also for ulcers of the mouth and for the teeth, and if it is retained in the mouth with saliva, or it forms a suitable ingredient in medicines for the eyes and for the genital organs of either sex. It is roasted in crucibles until it has quite lost its liquidity.^c There is another alum of a less active kind, called in Greek strongyle, 'round alum.' Of this also there are two varieties, the fungous which dissolves easily in any liquid and which is rejected as entirely worthless, and a better kind which is porous and pierced with small holes like a sponge and of a round formation, nearer white in colour, possessing a certain quality of unctuousness, free from grit, friable, and not apt to cause a black stain. This is roasted by itself on

188 pulis, donec cinis fiat Optimum ex omnibus quod Melnum vocant ab insula, ut diximus nulli vis maior neque adstringendi neque denigandi neque induandi, nullum spissius oculorum scabritias extenuat, combustum utilius epiphonis inhibendis, sic et ad primitus corporis sanguinem quoque sistit intus potum,¹ foris intitum evulsis pilis ex aceto inlinitur renascentesque mollit in languinem
 189 summa² omnium generum vis in adstringendo, unde nomen Graecis ob id oculorum virtus aptissima sunt, sanguinis fluctiones inhibitent cum adipe putrescentia ulcerum compescit³—sic et infantium ulcerarum⁴ et hydrocorum eruptiones siccant—et aurium virtus cum suco Punici malo et unguum scabritias cicatricumque duritas et pterygia ac perniones, phagedaenas ulcerum ex aceto aut cum galla pari pondere cremata, lepias cum suco oleum, cum salis vero in partibus virtus, quae seipunt, lentes et
 190 alia capillorum animalia aquae⁵ permixtum sic et ambustis prodest et furfuribus corporum cum sero picis infunditur et dysintericis uvamque in ore comprimit ac tonsillas ad omnia, quae in ceteris

¹ potum *Sillig, Ian* totum aut tutum

² *Vl* summam

³ Post compescit del cum adipe *K C Bailey*

⁴ sic ulcerarum supra ante putrescentia cd *Par* 6801

⁵ aquae coni *Ian, Sillig* aque *B²* atque *B¹* quae cd

Leid Lips que rell

^a In § 184 Pliny implies that the best is the Egyptian

^b Στυπτρία

clean hot coals till it is reduced to ash The best^a of all kinds is that called Melos alum, after the island of that name, as we said, no other kind has a § 184 greater power of acting as an astringent, giving a black stain and hardening, and none other has a closer consistency It removes granulations of the eyes, and is still more efficacious in arresting defluxions when calcined, and in that state also it is applied to itchings on the body Taken as a draft or applied externally it also arrests haemorrhage It is applied in vinegar to parts from which the hair has been removed and changes into soft down the hair that grows in its place The chief property of all kinds of alum is their astringent effect, which gives it its name^b in Greek This makes them extremely suitable for eye troubles, and effective in arresting haemorrhage Mixed with laid it checks the spread of putrid ulcers—so applied it also dries ulcers in infants and eruptions in cases of dropsy—and, mixed with pomegranate juice, it checks ear troubles and malformations of the nails and hardening of scars, and flesh growing over the nails, and chilblains Calcined with vinegar or gallnuts to an equal weight it heals gangrenous ulcers, and, if mixed with cabbage juice, pruitus, or if with twice the quantity of salt, serpiginous eruptions, and if thoroughly mixed with water, it kills eggs of lice and other insects that infest the hair Used in the same way it is also good for burns, and mixed with watery fluid from vegetable pitch for scurf on the body It is also used as an injection for dysentery, and taken in the mouth it reduces swellings of the uvula and tonsils It must be understood that for all the purposes which we have mentioned in the case of the other

generibus diximus, efficacius intellegatur ex Melo advectum Ad¹ reliquos usus vitae in coris lanisque perficiendis quanti sit momenti, significatum est

191 LIII Ab his per se ad medicinam pertinentia teriae genera tractabimus Samiae II sunt, quae collyrium et quae astei appellantur priores huius ut recentis sit ac lenissima² lingueque glutinosa, alteria glaebosior³, candida utique uritui, lavatur sunt qui praefierant priorem prosumt sanguinem expuentibus, emplastiisque, quae siccandi causa componuntur, oculorum quoque medicamentis miscentur

192 LIV Eretia totidem differentias habet, namque est alba et cinerea, quae praefertur in medicina probatu molitia et quod, si aere perducatur, violacum reddit colorem vis et ratio eius in medendo dicta est inter pigmenta

193 LV Lavatur omnis terra—in hoc enim loco dicemus—perfusa aqua siccataque solibus, iterum ex aqua tanta ac reposita, donec considat et digerit possit in pastillos coquitur in calicibus crebro concussis

194 LVI Est in medicaminibus et Chia teria candicans effectus eius idem⁴ qui Samiae, usus ad mulierum maxime cutem idem et Selinusiae lacte coloris

¹ advectum Ad K C Bailey adiectum nam ad cdd pro nam coni iam Bailey

² lenissima cdd (lenis cd Par 6801) levissima Detlefsen, Urlichs levis Hermolaus Barbarus

³ glaebosior Sillig glebosior aut globosior

⁴ eius idem Mayhoff eiusdem

^a Kaolinite or china clay, which is sometimes found in fan shaped (stui like) arrangements of plates, but generally in white, greyish, or yellowish masses (K C Bailey) The latter would be those used for eye salves

kinds the alum imported from Melos is more efficacious It has been indicated how important it is for the other requirements of life in giving a finish to hides and woollens § 183

LIII Next to these we will deal with the various kinds of earth which are connected with medicine There are two sorts of Samos earth,^a called collyrium, 'eye-salve,' and star-earth The recommendation of the former is that it must be fresh and very soft and sticky to the tongue, the second is more lumpy, both are white in colour The process is to calcine them and then to wash them Some people prefer the former kind They are beneficial for people spitting blood, and for plasters made up for drying purposes, and they are also used as an ingredient in medicines for the eyes

*Uses of various earths
Samaran*

LIV Earth of Eretria^b has the same number of *Eretrian* varieties, as one is white and one ash-coloured, the latter preferred in medicine It is tested by its softness and by its leaving a violet tint if rubbed on copper Its efficacy and the method of using it as a medicine have been spoken of among the pigments § 183

LV All these earths—we will mention it in this place—are washed by having water poured over them and dried in the sun, and then after being put in water again ground up and left to stand, till they settle down and can be divided into tablets They are boiled in cups that are repeatedly well shaken

LVI White earth^c of Chios is also among *Chian and other earths* medicaments, its effect is the same as that of Samos earth It is specially used as a cosmetic for the skin of women, and Selinunte earth is used in the same way The latter is of the colour of milk, and it

^b Cf §§ 30, 38

^c Some kind of china clay

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

haec et aqua dilui celerrima¹, eadem lacte diluta tectoriorum albaria interpolantur pñigitis² Ere-
tiae simillima est, grandioribus tantum glæbis glutinosaque effectus eius idem qui Cimoliae, infirmior tantum bitumini simillima est ampelitis³ experimentum eius, si cerae modo accepto oleo liquescat et si nigricans colos maneat tostae usus ad molliendum discutiendumque, et ad haec medicin-
mentis additur, praecipue in caliblepharis et inficiendis capillis

195 LVII Cretæ plura genera ex us Cimoliae duo ad medicos pertinentia, candidum et ad purpurissum inclinans vis utrique ad discutiendos tumores, sistendas fluctiones acetо adsumpto panos quoque et parotidas cohibet et hienem inlita pusulasque, si vero aphronitrum et cyprum⁴ adiciatur et acetum, pedum tumores ita, ut in sole curatio haec fiat et

196 post vi horas aqua salsa abluatur testium tu-
moribus cypio et cera addita prodest et refri-
gerandi quoque natura cretae est, sudoresque immodicos sistit inlita atque ita papulas cohibet ex vino adsumpta in balneis laudatur maxime Thessalica nascitur et in Lycia circa Bubonem,
Est et aliis Cimoliae usus in vestibus nam Sarda

¹ celerrima *edd* *vett* ceterima *aut* ceterum (teterrima
cd Par Lat 6797)

² pñigitis *Hermolaus Baibaros* phinicias *aut* pñitis *aut* sim

³ ampelitis *Hermolaus Barbarus* appellitis

⁴ cyprum *cd Par* 6801 *cyprus Brotier* nitrum *Gelen*

^a The word means any fullers' earths, here particularly calcium montmorillonite from the island Argentiera or Cimolo in the Aegean

^b αφρόνιτρον, more properly ἀφρός νίτρου, 'foam of soda', probably pure soda or possibly partly causticised soda, whereas ordinary nitrum was carbonate of soda

^c Obtained from the flowers of *Lawsonia alba*

dissolves very quickly in water, and likewise dissolved in milk it is used for touching up the whitewash on plastered walls Pnigitis, or 'suffocating' earth closely resembles that of Eretia, only it is in larger lumps and is sticky It produces the same effect as Cimolian earth, although it is less powerful Ampelitis or 'vine' earth is very like bitumen The test for it is whether it dissolves when oil is put in it, like wax, and whether when toasted it retains a blackish colour It is used for an emollient and dissipant, and is added to drugs for these purposes, especially in the case of eye-lash beautifiers and for hair dyes

Asphaltic deposit

LVII There are several sorts of white earth Among them there are two sorts of Cimolian earth ^a that concern doctors, one bright white and one inclining to purple Either is effective for dispelling tumours, and, with vinegar added, for stopping fluxes They also check swellings and inflammation of the parotid glands, and applied as a liniment, troubles of the spleen and pimples, while if foam-soda ^b, and oil of cypios ^c and vinegar are added, they cure swollen feet, provided the treatment is applied in the sun, and the application is washed off again with salt water six hours later A mixture of this earth with oil of cypios and wax is good for swellings of the testicles Cretaceous earth also possesses cooling properties, and applied in a liniment it stops immoderate sweating, and likewise taken in wine while in a bath it removes pimples The kind from Thessaly is most esteemed, but it is also found in the neighbourhood of Bubo in Lycia Another use also made of Cimolus earth is in regard to cloth The kind called Sarda, which is brought

Cimolian earths

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

quae adfertur e Saídinia, cándidis tantum adsumitur,
 inutilis versicoloribus, et¹ est vilissima omnium
 Cimoliae geneūm, pietiosior Umbiūca et quam
 197 vocant saxum proprietas saxi quod c̄escit in
 maceiando, itaque² pondere emitur, illa mensura
 Umbiūca non nisi poliendis vestibus adsumitur
 neque enim pigebit hanc quoque partem adtingere,
 cum lex Metilia extet fullonibus dicta, quam C
 Flaminius L Aemilius censores dedere ad populum
 198 ferendam adeo omnia maioribus curiae fure
 ergo oīdo hic est primum abluitur vestis Sarda,
 dein sulpure suffitur, mox desquamatur Cimolia
 quae est coloris veri fucatus enim deprehenditur
 nigrescitque et funditur sulpure, veros autem et
 pretiosos colores emollit Cimolia et quodam nitore
 exhilarat contumatos sulpure candidis vestibus
 saxum utilius a sulpure, inimicum coloribus Graecia
 pro Cimolia Tymphaico³ utitur gypso

199 LVIII Alia creta argentaria appellatur nitorem
 aīgento reddens, set vilissima qua circum praeduceatur
 ad victoriae notam pedesque venalium trans maria
 advectorum denotare instituerunt maiores, talemque

¹ ea coni Mayhoff

² itaque Mayhoff atque

³ Tymphaico Hermolaus Barbarus coll Theophri tympaigo
 B tympaico rell

^a Sarda would be strong calcium montmorillonite, Umbrian earth, some kaolinite, and *saxum*, bentonite Cf R H S Robertson, *Class Rev*, LXIII, 51-3 K C Bailey thinks *saxum* is quicklime ^b Cf § 44

from Sardinia, is only used for white fabrics, and is of no use for cloths of various colours, it is the cheapest of all the Cimolus kinds, more valuable are the Umbrian and the one called 'rock'^a The peculiarity of the latter is that it increases in size when it is steeped in liquid, consequently it is sold by weight, whereas Umbrian is sold by measure Umbrian earth is only employed for giving lustre to cloths It will not be out of place to touch on this part of the subject also, as a Metilian law referring to fullers still stands, the law which Gaius Flaminius and Lucius Aemilius as censors put forward ^{220 B.C.} to be carried in parliament so careful about everything were our ancestors The process then is this the cloth is first washed with earth of Sardinia, and then it is fumigated with sulphur, and afterwards scoured with Cimolian earth provided that the dye is fast, if it is coloured with bad dye it is detected and turns black and its colour is spread by the action of the sulphur, whereas genuine and valuable colours are softened and brightened up with a sort of brilliance by Cimolian earth when they have been made sombre by the sulphur The 'rock' kind is more serviceable for white garments, after the application of sulphur, but it is very detrimental to colour In Greece they use Tymphaea gypsum instead of Cimolian earth

LVIII There is another cretaceous earth ^b called *silversmiths' earth* as used for polishing silver, but the most inferior kind is the one which our ancestors made it the practice to use for tracing the line indicating victory in circus-races and for marking the feet of slaves on sale that had been imported from over-seas, instances of these being

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

Publilium Antiochium,¹ mimicae scaenae conditorem, et astrologiae consobrinum eius Manilium Antiochum, item grammaticae Staberium Erotem
 200 eadem nave advectos videire proavi sed quid hos referat aliquis, litterarum honore commendatos? talem in catasta videire Chrysogonum Sullae, Amphilionem Q Catuli, Hectorem² L Luculli, Demetrium Pompei, Augenque Demetrii, quamquam et ipsa Pompei cedita est, Hipparchum M Antoni, Menam et Meneciaten Sexti Pompei aliosque deinceps, quos enumerare iam non est, sanguine
 201 Quiritium et proscriptionum licentia ditatos hoc est insigne venalicus gregibus obprobriumque insolentis fortunae quos et nos adeo potius reium vidimus, ut praetoria quoque ornamenta decerni a senatu iubente Agrippina Claudi Caesaris videremus tantumque non cum laureatis fascibus remitti fillo, unde ciuitatis pedibus advenissent

¹ Antiochium *O Jahn* lucilium *cd Par* 6801 lochium
rell

² Hectorem *Urlichs, Detlefsen* interfectorum *cd Par*
Lat 6797, *cd Tolet* rectorem *rell* interfectorum, Heronem
edd vett Heronem *ed Basil*

^a This would be Publius Syrus, fl c 45 B C

^b Probably father or grandfather of Manilius who wrote the extant *Astronomica*

^c Teacher of Brutus and Cassius

^d From the period 80-30 B C

^e Demetrius of Gadara whose native city, destroyed by the Jews, was rebuilt by Pompey at Demetrius' request

Publius of Antioch^a the founder of our mimic stage and his cousin Manilius^b Antiochus the originator of our astronomy, and likewise Staberius Eros^c our first grammarian, all of whom our ancestors saw brought over in the same ship. But why need anybody mention these men, recommended to notice as they are by their literary honours? Other instances^d that have been seen on the stand in the slave market are Chrysogonus freedman of Sulla, Amphion freedman of Quintus Catulus, Hector freedman of Lucius Lucullus, Demetrius^e freedman of Pompey, and Auge freedwoman of Demetrius, although she herself also was believed to have belonged to Pompey, Hipparchus freedman of Mark Antony, Menas^f and Menecrates freedmen of Sextus Pompeius, and a list of others whom this is not the occasion to enumerate, who^g have enriched themselves by the bloodshed of Roman citizens and by the licence of the proscriptions^h. Such is the mark set on these heads of slaves for sale, and the disgrace attached to us by capricious fortune!—persons whom even we have seen risen to such power that we actually beheld the honour of the praetorship awarded to them by decree of the Senate at the bidding of Claudius Caesar's wife Agrippina,ⁱ and all but sent back with the rods of office wreathed in laurels to the places from which they came to Rome with their feet whitened with white earth!^j

^a Admiral of Sextus Pompeius c 40 B.C. He deserted twice to Octavian. Hipparchus likewise deserted to Octavian. Menecrates killed himself after ill success under Menas against Octavian's fleet, 38 B.C.

^b Especially Chrysogonus and perhaps Hipparchus

^c By Sulla in 82 and by Antony, Octavian, Lepidus in 43 B.C.

^d She married Claudius in A.D. 49, ^j See § 199

PLINY NATURAL HISTORY

202 LIX Piaeteia sunt, genera tenuae proprietatis suae, de quibus iam diximus, sed et hoc loco reddenda natura ex Galata insula et circa Clupeam Africae scorpiones necat, Bahamis et Ebusitanis serpentes

NOTE ON THE PAINTERS NAMED ARISTIDES

It would appear that an elder Aristides (XXXV 75, 108 111, and 122)—the statuary of XXXIV 50 and 72 may be the same) had as pupils his sons Nicomachus (XXXV 108 109), Niceros (111) and Ariston (110, 111), and two others (not sons), namely Euphranor (111, 128) and Antorides (111)

LIX Moreover there are other kinds of earth with a special property of their own about which we have spoken already, but the nature of which must again be stated here. ^{III 78}
^{V 42} soil taken from the island of Galata and in the neighbourhood of Clupea in Africa kills scorpions, and that of the Balea*nic* Islands and Iviza is fatal to snakes

Note however that the reading *Aristides* in XXXV 108 is uncertain and that Nicomachus is not mentioned in 111. Nicomachus had a son and pupil the younger Aristides (A of Thebes 98–100, 110) who was thus grandson of A the elder. The younger is named also in XXXV 24, and VII 126. Pliny shows some confusion of the two.

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